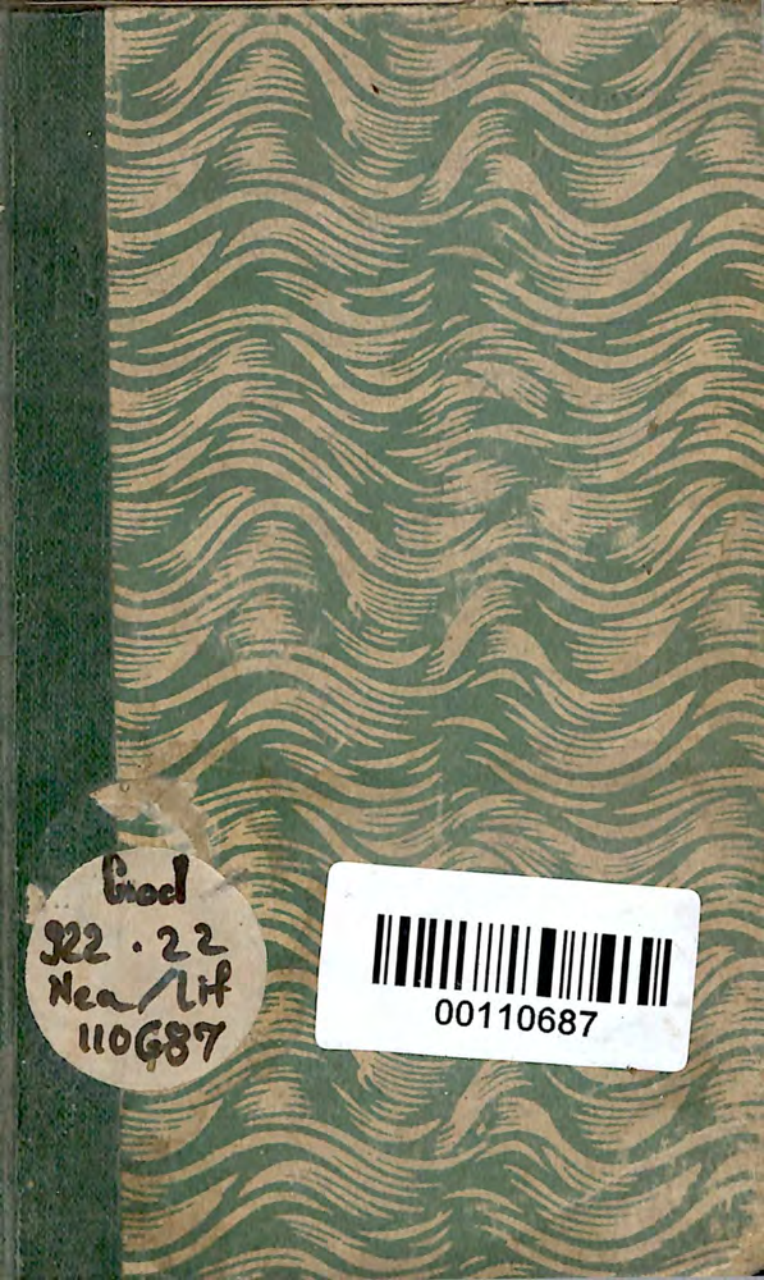
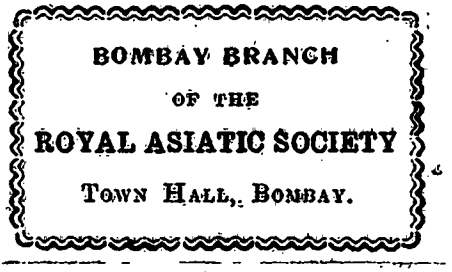

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THE LIFE AND TIMES

OF

ST. BERNARD,

110687

DR. AUGUSTUS NEANDER,

PROFESSOR OF THEOLOGY

IN THE ROYAL UNIVERSITY OF BERLIN.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN,

BY

ILDA WRENCH.

LONDON:

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TO

THE REV. HARRY OVENDEN WRENCH, B.C.L.

CURATE OF OVERTON, FLINTSHIRE,

THIS TRANSLATION IS INSCRIBED,

IN ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF HIS KIND ASSISTANCE

IN COMPARING THE QUOTATIONS FROM THE

Works of St. Bernard,

IN THE

FOLLOWING PAGES, WITH THE LATIN ORIGINALS;

AND AS

A TOKEN OF THE MOST SINCERE AFFECTION,

By his Sister.

[T]SLATOR'S PREFACE.

..... La carità del natio loco
[f]i strinse."

DANTE.

[T]he publication of the following translation
[o]t of a Church-fund at Boughton-under
[B]t, my native place. The extreme anxiety
[m]y inhabitants to secure for themselves and
[c]hildren, the inestimable blessings of the ministra-
[o]f the Church, is evident from the subscription
[w]hich contains many contributions of single shil-
[a]nd even of pence; but the widow's mite, though
[h]ed a treasure in heaven, does not suffice to effect
[e]ndowment on earth, and I venture to hope that my
[s]e efforts to assist them, may therefore be received
[i]ndulgence. No apology can be needed for offering
[k] of Dr. Neander's to the attention of the public;
[t]e sound judgment which he has exercised in sepa-
[r]the facts of Bernard's life from the mass of chro-
[n]fiction and superstition in which they were enve-
[l] renders *this* biography peculiarly valuable, and
[w] trust, render it also generally acceptable to the
[E]h reader.

[B]ard ranks as the last of the Fathers; but, justly

venerated as he has been by the Churc
remarkable fact, that he "maintained
liar and essential doctrines which occa
ration of Papists and Protestants."
two sacraments, placed salvation solely i
of Christ's righteousness, rejected works
tion[1], and did not admit the immacula
the Vi[illegible] and had, says D'Aubigné,
ple of [illegible], but inward piet
most [illegible] in the character of
tion. [illegible] of history must be
influence that Bernard of Clairvaux e
the [illegible] during the firs
twelfth century[2] an influence which, whi
and acknowledged by popes and sovereigns,
its kindly sphere the lowliest member or outcast
human family. This influence Bernard owed e
to his unbounded benevolence and his exalted
and of the latter, humility and simplicity were the
liar characteristics. In one of his letters he thus u
sciously draws his own portrait. "*That* is a
degree of virtue, and as rare as it is high, tha
great things without perceiving its own greatness
is alone unconscious of the lustre of that holiness

[1] Chalmers.

[2] This was not established as an article of faith till the f
century. In the previous century, John Scott, of Dun
argued for it, against Montesoro, a Dominican professor
University of Paris, and, after years of furious disputation
rejected by that learned body; but, in 1476, Pope Six
Fourth, by a special bull, granted an indulgence to all w
the festival of the Immaculate Conception.—Spanheim.

dazzles all other eyes; and that, while admired by the whole world, looks upon itself as vile, and only deserving of contempt. This is the greatest of all virtues,"—and it was his: for he who was highest in the judgment of the Christian world (so that "all affairs seemed to depend on his precepts and example, who was consulted as an oracle by high and low, and acknowledged as an arbiter both of truces and of peace; to whose prayers all orders of men desired to be recommended, since he was so generally admired and beloved, that he had the good wishes of the whole world, having gained more favour in his humility than Solomon in all his glory[3];") ever remained the lowest in his own, "uniting the force of a master with the docility of a child."

By his contemporaries he was commonly styled the thirteenth Apostle; and the mighty spirit, which in spite of the apparently insurmountable obstacles of constitutional weakness and continued personal suffering, [redacted]ht so powerfully and unweariedly for the temporal [redacted]e eternal interests of his brethren in the flesh, was akin to that of him, the "chief of the apostles," while he "laboured more abundantly than all," [redacted] bodily presence weak among his fellow-men—affectionate tenderness of Bernard's heart identis character with that of the loving and beloved [redacted]n[4].

[redacted]nçois d'Amboise.

[redacted] an example of this, I cannot refrain from quoting a por[redacted]his letter to his friend Arnold, Abbot of Morimond, who [redacted] from his convent, and deserted his monks: "Would that [redacted]y your side!—what a host of reasons I would urge against [redacted]d when I had exhausted my voice, my eyes—my counte-

Like St. John, the object of his constant solicitude was to unite Christians in the living bonds of the Gospel. That this unity was only to be preserved by the universal supremacy of one earthly head of the Church, was Bernard's firm belief, and this was the ground of his devotion to the See of Rome, which appears to have been rather ideal than actual; he venerated the Popes not as they were, but as he deemed they might be; and the stern and unsparing reproofs which he directed against their corruptions, afford abundant proof that they had not attained the standard of his expectations.

Neither was Bernard's attachment to the Church such as to blind him to the evidence of her deficiencies; it was, on the contrary, an enlightened zeal, which, exhibiting to him, in the clearest light, the exalted purposes to which she was appointed in the counsels of God, rendered him tremblingly alive to aught that might be as a stumbling-block in the way of their fulfilment.

Bernard's participation in matters extrinsic was, moreover, never suffered to divert his attention from the most minute and vigilant examination of his own heart; and we are told, that he was constantly asking himself this question, "Bernard, Bernard, wherefore art

nance—should speak for me.—I would throw myself at your I would embrace your knees; I would hang upon your would bathe with my tears that dear head which has grow with me, beneath the easy yoke of Christ. I would implo by the same our Lord Jesus Christ, not to make void His s by leaving those whom He had gathered together. Listen O illustrious pillar of our Order! listen to the lamentation absent friend, who is pierced with sorrow for your flight, tenderly alive to your misfortunes and your danger."

here on earth?" But the truly spiritual character of his mind is best seen in his writings, and it is to be regretted that these, which have been styled "a stream from Paradise [5]," have not been laid open to the English reader through the medium of a translation; they have been recommended to the study of the members of the Church of England by one of her most eminent dignitaries, Dean Stanhope, who translated the "Meditations," and published them together with those of St. Augustin and of Anselm. His Sermons have been the delight of the faithful in all ages, and are distinguished by their scriptural character; for Bernard was wont to say, that "though all knowledge founded on truth is good, yet since we are to work out our salvation, we must, on account of the shortness of the time, apply ourselves, before all things, to learn those which concern our salvation;" and to the humble believer, far from diminishing, it will rather tend to enhance the value and credit of Bernard's discourses, that instead of reasoning from multiplied and subtle principles, he drew his argu-
[redacted]mediately from the well of "truth undefiled."
[redacted]re," says Sixtus of Sienna, "at once so sweet
[redacted]rdent, that it is as though his mouth were a foun-
[redacted]oney, and his breast a whole furnace of love."
[redacted]een disputed whether they were delivered in
[redacted]r in Latin; but since, by a decree of the Council
[redacted], the Bishops were desired, when they preached
[redacted]nilies of the Fathers, to translate them into
[redacted]e Romance," it appears improbable that Bernard

[5] Heinsius.

should at once have overlooked this decree and the edification of his monks,—many of whom were unlearned and ignorant men, by preaching to them in an unknown tongue; a manuscript copy of his Sermons, in the French of the twelfth century, was also to be seen, prior to the revolution of 1789, in the library of the Pères Feuillans, in the Rue St. Honoré, Paris.

The benefits which accrued to society from the numerous monastic establishments which Bernard was the means of founding in the different European kingdoms, may perhaps, to the present day, be deemed at least equivocal: they are best stated, as they could best be estimated, by a contemporary, whose words I quote. "How many monasteries hath he founded, which were as so many cities of refuge throughout Christendom, to which, as to an asylum, all those who have committed crimes and sins, so as to be adjudged worthy not only of death, but of death eternal, may repair, and there find safety, conversion, and everlasting salvation." These advantages have, perhaps, been less prominently brought forward, than those which resulted to society from the cultivation of unreclaimed lands, and the preservation of classical literature by the monks.

Of the one hundred and sixty monasteries, which have been established by Bernard, five were in England and Wales, and one in Ireland.

These were, 1st, that of Rivaulx, 1131, near Thirsley, in Yorkshire, the ruins of which still attest its former magnificence.

2. Fountains Abbey, 1132, near Ripon, in the same county, which is supposed to have been named in

of Bernard, after the place of his birth. Certain monks of the Benedictine Abbey of St. Mary's, York, wishing to adopt a stricter rule, quitted their convent, and were pursued with every species of annoyance by Galfridus, their abbot, who even went so far as to forward a memorial to the king, urging him to interpose his royal authority for forcing these stray children back to their own fold. The poor monks sought the intercession of Bernard; and his Epistles, 94 and 313, are remonstrances addressed by him to Galfridus, and dictated by that gentle and benevolent spirit which prevailed in all he did. In conclusion, he implores the abbot, who had menaced them with excommunication, "not to cens[illegible] them as apostates, since they had but retreated, in order that they might advance the more surely. Remember the law, and judge no man without having first heard him; and, above all things, fear to pass sentence on the absent[6]." Archbishop Thirlestan took the unhappy monks under his protection, and gave them the then barren valley in which they established their subsequently stately and celebrated abbey. The walnut-tree, fenced round with [illegible]rdles, under which they lived while engaged in its [illegible] was long pointed out as an object of interest[7]. [illegible]nche-lande, or White-lands, in 1140, in the [illegible]f St. David's, in Carmarthenshire. This abbey [illegible]plied with monks from Clairvaux, to teach the [illegible]n rule to the new establishment. It was built [illegible]estered valley, sheltered by magnificent groves, [illegible]rish of Llangan, but few remains of its former

[6] Ep. 313. [7] Dugdale.

grandeur are now to be seen. The celebrated legislator, Howel Dha, is said to have resided in this abbey [8].

4. Boxley Abbey, 1146, in the diocese of Canterbury, near Rochester, in Kent. Monks were also sent hither by Bernard, and the endowment was given by William of Yprès, Earl of Kent, who subsequently became a monk himself at Laon.

5. Margam, or Margan Abbey, 1147, in Glamorganshire, endowed by the celebrated Robert, Earl of Gloucester, the conqueror of South Wales. Leland, in his "Collectanea," gives Margan the preference over all the Cistercian abbeys in South Wales; and Grose, when he visited it in 1779, pronounced the chapter-house the finest specimen of that kind of building that he had [illegible]. The roof was then only defended from the injuries of the weather by a covering of oiled paper. The descendant of the Mansells (to whom it was given at the Reformation) has, doubtless, since that time, provided a more solid defence for the preservation of this beautiful and interesting relic. In one of the deeds of endowment, Thomas de Avene orders his successors to supply all the rods and hurdles that may be required by the monks for fishing in the river Taf. The [illegible] tual chapel is now used as the parish church.

The Abbey of Mellifont, 1141, county of [illegible] Ireland, was endowed by Donald Mac Carrol, [illegible] Uriel, at the instance of Malachi, Archbishop of [illegible] whose remains were transferred here from Cl[illegible] where he died, "for the greater honour of the [illegible]

[8] Dugdale.

tery." In 1540, Richard Conter, the last abbot, received a grant of forty pounds per annum for the surrender of the abbey; and the site was subsequently granted by King Charles the First to Sir Gerald Moor[9].

The following scanty particulars of the history of Clairvaux, Bernard's own "beloved Jerusalem," include, I regret to say, all that a long and persevering research enables me to offer. The original foundation was greatly augmented by Thibaud, Count of Champagne, and by his son-in-law, Philip, Count of Flanders (the latter, with his wife, Matilda of Blois, were buried at Clairvaux); and in the year 1174, the church, a fine Gothic edifice, was built by Gaston, bishop of Langres, the diocesan. It contained seats in the nave for one thousand monks, "which," says Bou[illegible]illiers, writing in 1727, "have lately been removed, out of deference to modern taste." The abbey, which had been rebuilt in Bernard's time, to accommodate the increasing numbers of devotees, was again found incapable of containing those who flocked to it for admission; and by the side of the modest building erected by the first abbot and his companions, which, from reverence to his memory, was permitted to stand, a sumptuous palace arose, of which [illegible]e dormitories, the refectory, the chapter-house, and th[illegible]ibrary, were in the most richly decorated style of archi[illegible]cture, and adorned with statues of St. Bernard and the monks who had lived with him. The abbot, who enjoyed episcopal honours, and an income of 90,000 francs, also possessed a superb country-house, having a

[9] Dugdale.

fine picture gallery, and a chapel adorned with carving and gilding, at the distance of about half a league from the monastery. He had under his dependence eighteen abbeys and twenty-eight nunneries, forty-one abbeys commendatory, and forty in foreign countries. In addition to his stipendiary revenues, the Abbot of Clairvaux received yearly seven hundred septiers[1] of wheat, and seven hundred hogsheads of wine; the expenses of his table were defrayed from the common fund, and the board of the novices was paid to him, while he was not bound to keep a table for them. He also received the revenues arising from the forges and mines, and the overplus of the corn and wine provided for the use of the monks. In fact, it is scarcely possible to imagine a greater contrast than that presented to our consideration, by a comparison of the life of the first and last abbot of Clairvaux.

When, in the beginning of the seventeenth a general reform of the monastic orders had solved on by the Pope, the Abbot of Clairvau a determined resistance, and even went so refuse admission to the papal commissary, the Langres.

A temporary reform, indeed, took place und Denys l'Argentier, whose mind was powerfully i one day, when he had been praying at the tom nard, and he was heard to exclaim, "Alas! O what avail is it that we possess the relics of thi body, if thy spirit be no longer among us?"

[1] A septier is a measure containing twelve bushel gallons.

established the ancient discipline, and, although he was then at an advanced age, worked [illegible] monks, in the manual labours prescribed by their rule. He was succeeded by his nephew, a young man of worldly and luxurious habits, and under his presidency the monks sent in an appeal to the Paris Parliament against all innovations; and the Parliament decreé in their favour. This was [illegible] order to secure themselves still further, [illegible] cause into Richelieu's hands; but [illegible] complaints, and disgusted by their [illegible] abandoned them to their fate, and [illegible] over to the papal commissioner, the Cardinal de Rochefoucault. The monks, however, [illegible] their resistance to the Court of Rome, [illegible] of policy, persuaded their brethren to elect Richelieu himself General of the Order, [illegible] an Englishman, who then held the office, resigned for the purpose. Richelieu, to whose ambition the honour of presiding over so powerful a body as the Cistercians was not without its attractions, accepted the offered dignity, but at the same time insisted on reform, and proceeded to enforce it by the strong arm of power. But before his intentions could be carried into effect, he was himself arrested by death, in the year 1642; and from that period the old abuses were revived, and carried to still greater lengths. The permission which had been granted to invalid members of the community, to partake, in private, of such a diet as was adapted to their infirmities, was now abused to the purposes of gluttony and self-indulgence; and private tables were spread in

different par[illegible] privileged monks, forsaking th[illegible] on board, revelled in all the [illegible]e luxury. Many other enormi[illegible] the rule had become a dead [illegible] says Helyot, "the [illegible] reformed and unreformed with the [illegible] when the French revolution [illegible] hurricane, overthrowing all that bore [illegible], there were but five-and-forty [illegible] by its violence from the once populous [illegible] Clairvaux. The abbey was dismantled, [illegible] It is now used as a house of industry [illegible] criminals, two thousand [illegible] employed there in the manufacture of [illegible]; and surely, if the spirit of Bernard still looks down with interest on the [illegible] of his earthly attachments, he must regard the present appropriation of his beloved [illegible] with satisfaction and pleasure. Among the distinguished persons buried at Clairvaux were the Princess Isabella, daughter of Louis the Ninth[3], and

[2] Le Père Gervais, "Histoire de la Réforme de Citeaux." Beidenfeld, "Ursprung und Aufleben sämmtlicher Mönchs-und-Klosterfrauen-Orden," &c. &c.

[3] The Mémoires de Joinville give an interesting anecdote connected with the history of this princess. Her mother, Margaret of Provence, had entrusted her to the care of her grandmother, Queen Blanche, when she herself set out with the King, her husband, on his ill-fated expedition to the Holy Land. When news was brought her at Damietta, of the death of Blanche, who had always treated her with the most jealous insolence, striving to deprive her of her husband's affections, she wept bitterly, and appeared inconsolable, on which the honest Lord of Joinville was uncourtly enough to exclaim,—"Il est donc bien vray qu'on ne doit mie (jamais) croire femme a pleurer;" but Margaret replied,

Margaret, Queen of Navarre, the sister of Francis the First.

The Abbey of Clugni is so closely connected in history with that of Clairvaux, and the friendship of Bernard for the Venerable Peter is so frequently referred to in the following pages[4], that it may not, perhaps, be uninteresting to subjoin a few particulars of its fate at the era of the Revolution. They are in many respects curious.

When, in 1793, the poor monks were turned out of their ancient home, the Mayor of Clugni, anxious to save so magnificent a monument of antiquity from destruction, undertook a journey to Paris, in order to request that the abbey might be converted into an asylum for disabled and destitute soldiers, similar to that of the Hospital des Invalides. He made great interest with the government, but his object was defeated by the intervention of the inhabitants of the commune of Clugni, who, wishing to make money of the materials and the site, presented a remonstrance, in which they alleged as the ground of their opposition, their regard for the morals of their town, which they were apprehensive would be corrupted by the vicinity

" I mourn truly, because my little daughter is now left alone in the hands of men."

[4] In a letter to Pope Eugenius, Bernard thus writes of Peter, who had undertaken a journey to Rome. " Nothing can separate us; neither the height of the Alps, nor the frozen snows, nor the length of the way; even while writing this, I am with him,—I am at his side." And Peter, on his part, declared that he should prefer passing his life with Bernard, to the enjoyment of the highest honours of the world.

of these military veterans. Their petition, which was probably backed by a promise of a share in the spoils, was favourably received, and the Mayor only returned to witness the demolition of one of the noblest architectural monuments that his country had to boast. The church, which had been the wonder of Europe, was first demolished, and its bells were melted into cannons for the use of the republican armies. But the strong walls of the venerable abbey offered a formidable resistance, and the people, unable to separate the solid masses of masonry, called in a detachment of the revolutionary troops to assist their impotent malice and cupidity in completing the work of destruction. When this was accomplished,—when the last offending buttress had been battered down, and the walls of the once stately abbey of Clugni were levelled with the ground, they made a pile of the valuable paintings, with the carved work and statues of wood, and setting fire to them in the public square, or market-place, celebrated their triumph by dancing round with yells and shouting.

Ten years after, when on his way to assume the iron crown of Lombardy, Napoleon passed through the department of Saône et Loire, in which Clugni is situated, he was met in the neighbouring town, where he stopped to change horses, by a deputation from the commune, with a request that he would honour them by passing through their town; but Napoleon sternly replied,—"Away with you!—you are a race of Vandals—you have suffered your grand and beautiful church to be sold and destroyed,—and I shall not visit Clugni." In the year 1811, the site of the abbey was devoted to a build-

ing erected as a cavalry stable or training-house for the department. The south bell-tower, and a chapel enclosing a tomb, supposed to be that of Peter the Venerable, are the only existing remains of the ancient edifice [5].

To return to the more immediate subject of the following work. There are four French lives of Bernard: one by Lemaître, 8vo, 1649; a second, by Villefore, 4to, 1704; a third, by Clemencet, also in 4to, 1773, usually considered as the thirteenth volume of the "Histoire Littéraire de la France;" and a fourth, in two vols. small 8vo, 1841, by the Abbé Ratisbonne; to which last I am indebted for the materials of several notes. The long promised Life by the Count de Montalembert has not yet made its appearance.

I must now, in conclusion, offer my thanks to the friend to whom I am indebted for the selection of the original work. It is one which has encouraged me, by the hope it has led me to indulge, that the blessing of God, which in so remarkable a manner attended the labours of Bernard of Clairvaux, may still accompany his honoured name, and be vouchsafed even to my humble efforts.

My far greater obligations to the Reverend Henry John Rose, I should in vain endeavour to express. To his kind and careful revision of the first book, and his subsequent permission to refer any doubts and difficulties to his judgment, I am indebted for such valuable

[5] De Lorain, "Essai Historique de l'Ordre de Clugni." Dijon, 1839.

suggestions and corrections as may have rendered the translation in any measure worthy of being offered to the public. My anxiety to give, in exact sense, as nearly as possible in the exact words of the original, will, I trust, be deemed some little excuse for any peculiarities of style; these, however, it has been my earnest endeavour to avoid. The abstruse controversial subjects discussed in the course of the work would have deterred me from undertaking it, had I been as fully aware of the rocks and quicksands they would oppose to the satisfactory result of my labours, as I am now; and I trust that if the care and thought which I have bestowed on these parts should have been insufficient to keep me from error, they will at least secure for me indulgence. I scarcely know whether my own addition of foot-notes will be considered to require any apology; they were not subjoined with the idea of supplying any *deficiencies* in the original, but as tending to give a further interest to the work, by such illustrations as, while reading it myself, I had been induced to seek.

In humble trust that it may be blessed to the purpose for which it was undertaken, I now conclude; and perhaps I may venture to express a hope, that those into whose hands the book may come, will, as far as they conscientiously can, forward the cause that it is designed to assist, by making it more generally known.

Denmark Hill, September, 1847.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

THIS historical monography has been worked out on the same plan and method as my "Life of the Emperor Julian," both because this method appears to me the most natural, and because it is that best suited to my own mind and taste. It has been arranged with reference to the principal points of Bernard's life, both on account of his intimate connexion with all that was most remarkable in the times in which he lived, and also because the peculiarities of both are best exhibited in their reciprocal relations.

The sketch has been further filled up, partly because the life of Bernard is but a fragment which I was obliged to develope by the details of outward circumstances, and partly because it was rendered necessary by the context, since the age of Bernard presents so much that is in many respects interesting and important.

My point of view in this, as well as in all my other works, is uniform, and need not be indicated, since it will display itself, unless I have failed in accomplishing my purpose, or unless this portrait should fail to make that impression on the mind of the reader which the contemplation of the times has made upon mine.

The notes include several additional sketches, researches, and traits, which to many may appear unconnected with the object of the work. But, in accordance with my own view of the subject, I have embodied all that was present to my own mind; and I shall have attained my purpose, if from the whole, the reader receives, as I have done, the impression of a uniform picture. The character of an age, like that of an individual, is often best seen in slight traits; I have, therefore, availed myself of such.

I have quoted largely from the original sources, thinking thereby to perform a service acceptable to such readers as have not leisure, opportunity, or inclination, for a particular study of them, and who, by following my inquiries as far as possible, may thus be enabled to form for themselves a true and lively picture.

In my *choice of a subject*, I am sure that no one will blame me. How far I have treated it successfully, I leave for persons of more mature judgment to decide. There are doubtless many faults in the execution, and every well-grounded and acute criticism will be welcome to me.

Berlin, Sept. 8, 1813.

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LIFE

OF

ST. BERNARD.

CHAPTER I.

Bernard's life to the era of the papal schism in the year 1130: his early education; view of his external relations and his influence.

BERNARD was born at Fontaines, near Dijon, in Burgundy, in the year 1091. His father Tecelin, a knight of an ancient and noble family, was too much engaged in deeds of arms to have leisure to devote himself to the education of his son, and it therefore devolved on his mother Aletta[1], a woman of a gentle and pious disposition (1). At that time there appeared to be no choice between the turbulent and dissolute mode of life of the upper ranks, too often connected with deeds of

[1] By the chroniclers of Bernard's life, she is indifferently called Aletta, Alice, Eliza, and Elizabeth. Her children were Guido, Gerard, Bernard, Andrew, Bartholomew, Nivard, and Hombeline. "Cette illustre femme," says the Abbé de St. Thierry, "cuitoit de confier la nourriture de ses enfans à des nourrices étrangères, faisant comme une infusion dans leurs cœurs de la vertu de leur mère, en versant dans leurs corps le lait maternel." Aletta was the daughter of the Lord of Mont-Barron.

rude and lawless violence, and the absolute retirement of the monastic life (2), which, from the force of contrast, was held in the greater veneration[2]. The pious Aletta then, believed that in dedicating her seven children to the cloister from the moment of their birth, she was dedicating them to God. This conviction was strengthened at the birth of her third son Bernard, by a dream, which a monk, to whom she had referred for counsel, interpreted as indicating that the child should prove a stedfast and zealous champion of the Church. Aletta herself, unlike other women of her condition, led a quiet secluded life, shunning all worldly pomp, and surrounded by monks; and for some years before her death, she imparted to her house a still more monastic appearance, dividing her time between deeds of fasting and almsgiving, and prayer. It was here that the young Bernard imbibed the first elements of education, till his

[2] Even the monasteries did not always afford a secure retreat from the lawless violence of the marauding barons. Montfaucon relates, that in the reign of Lewis-le-Jeune, the Count de Châlon sent a troop of Brabançons to pillage the abbey of Clugni. The monks, followed by a vast number of people who had probably taken refuge with them on the approach of these miscreants, came out in solemn procession, bearing the relics, in the hope of diverting them from their object; but the Brabançons fell on the defenceless monks, spoiled their abbey, and killed upwards of five hundred persons. The Abbot of Vezelai was also besieged, and well-nigh starved in his abbey by the Count de Nevers, and whenever he or his monks ventured to show themselves, they were repulsed with a shower of arrows, till the king was obliged to march in person to his relief.

The Bishops of Puy and Clermont also complained to the king of the sacrilege and cruelty practised by the barons of their dioceses, especially by the notorious freebooter the Viscount Polignac, who pillaged all the churches of the district, and carried the spoils in triumph to his castle near Puy.

mother, who, in pursuance of the indication of her dream [3], destined him for the priesthood, suffered him to be sent to the church of Châtillon, in order to receive the preparatory instruction for his future course [4]. He realized her hopes: his ardent fiery spirit soon signalized itself in his progress, as well as his innate love of the solitary and contemplative life. But the mother who had presided so carefully over his education was taken from him in his youth [5]; and the young nobles

[3] Germ. Traumgesicht—dream-vision.

[4] About the beginning of the eleventh century public schools were established in many of the cathedral towns in France; for instance, at Rheims, Poitiers, Orleans, Auxerre. These schools became still more numerous in the following century. Thus, the celebrated Berengarius (1035) was of the school of St. Mary at Anjou.

It appears from Godfrey (Vita Bern. p. 1031) that the school of Châtillon enjoyed a great renown at this time, from the recent introduction of the scholastic method. The study of the Latin language, and the cultivation of the belles-lettres, to which he was passionately attached, seem to have engrossed the attention of Bernard, who, although he had outstripped his companions in the science of logic, had always felt a great aversion to applying this art to the principles of eternal truth.

[5] This event took place six months after Bernard's return from Châtillon, and is thus recorded by a contemporary author, who was himself present at the mournful scene: "Aletta was accustomed to celebrate the festival of St. Ambrose, the patron of the church of Fontaines, by an annual feast, to which the neighbouring clergy were invited. On the vigil of that day, she was seized with a violent fever which confined her to her bed." (It appears that she had had a presentiment of her approaching death, which she had communicated to her husband and family.) "The next morning, she requested that the Holy Communion might be administered to her, and feeling strengthened after its reception, she desired that the clergy would sit down to the feast she had provided. While they were at table, she sent for her eldest son Guido, and desired that he would request the company to repair to her chamber, when the repast was ended. When

availed themselves of this circumstance, and sought to attract him into their society, and, by means of social pleasures and adventures, to overpower his inclination for the cloister: partly, however, from the bent of his natural temper, partly from the influence of education, Bernard found little attraction either in worldly pleasure or in chivalrous enterprises; they then endeavoured to work upon his mind by other means.

After the nations had roused themselves from the barbarism of the tenth century, a wonderful enthusiasm for literature and philosophy had been excited among them, especially in France; and the youth who had previously aspired to honour only by the weapons of war, now sought it by the weapons of dialectics. Bernard's associates then endeavoured to withdraw him from his

they were assembled, and standing round her bed, Aletta calmly announced that the moment of her departure was at hand, and entreated their prayers. The ministers of the Lord began to read the Litany, Aletta herself making the responses, as long as her breath lasted; but when the choir reached that versicle, "By thy cross and passion, good Lord deliver us," the dying woman, commending her soul to God, raised her hand to make the sign of the cross, and in that attitude she expired; giving up her spirit to the angels, by whom it was carried to the abode of the just. There it awaits in peace the reunion with the body at the great day of the resurrection, when our Lord and Advocate, Jesus Christ, shall come to judge the quick and the dead." Joan. Erem. p. 1300.

An old author says of Aletta, "She was often to be seen alone and on foot, on the road between Fontaines and Dijon, visiting the cottages of the poor, and carrying provisions and remedies to the sick and afflicted, and administering instruction and spiritual consolation to them. She never allowed her domestics to assist her in these offices, so that it might truly be said, that her left hand knew not what her right hand performed. Aletta was buried at Dijon, where her remains reposed for 140 years, at the end of which time they were removed to Clairvaux.

attachment to a monastic life through these studies; and here they met with better success, for these were not without attraction for his ardent mind. But the impression so deeply received was not to be altogether effaced; the image of his beloved mother was constantly before his mind; he thought over the discourses she had held with him, the plans she had formed for him; and his ardent imagination led him to believe that she sometimes appeared openly to him, and angrily reminded him, that it was not for such vanities, but in a far different hope, that she had directed his education.

On one occasion when he was journeying alone to meet his brothers, who were in the camp of the Burgundian army, then engaged in besieging the castle of Granci, this idea took possession of him, and the image of his chiding mother filled his whole soul. Upon this he retired into a church which was upon the road, and prayed that God would confirm him in his purpose of becoming a monk[6]. With the ardour peculiar to him, he now not only hastened to execute his resolu-

[6] Bernard took pleasure in relating the circumstances attending his conversion to his monks in after years. "I am not ashamed to confess," he would say, "that often, and particularly at the beginning of my conversion, I experienced great hardness of heart, and an extreme coldness. I sought after Him, whom my soul would fain love. Him, in whom my frozen spirit might repose and re-animate itself. But none came to succour me, and dissolve this strong ice which bound up all the spiritual senses, and to revive the sweetness and serenity of the spiritual spring, and thus my soul continued feeble and listless, a prey to grief, almost to despair, and murmuring internally. Who is able to abide his frost? Then on a sudden, and perhaps at the first word, or at the first sight of a spiritually-minded person, sometimes at the bare recollection of one dead or absent, the Holy Spirit would begin to breathe, and the waters to flow; then would tears be my meat day and night."

tion, but he also sought to communicate his own inclination to his kinsfolk and friends. His persuasions were effectual with many[7]. His uncle, a great and wealthy

[7] We subjoin one of Bernard's letters, as a specimen of the mode of argument he used with his friends.

"The zeal which animates me is not of carnal growth, it springs from the desire of co-operating with you in working out our salvation. Nobility, strength, beauty, the pleasures of youth, the riches of the earth, palaces, places of dignity, the wisdom of this world, all these are to be found *in* the world. But how long will they last? They will vanish with the world, before the world, for in the twinkling of an eye you will, yourself, have left the world. Life is short, the world passeth away, and you will pass away before it. Why not then cease from loving that which will soon cease to be? Oh my brother, come without delay, and unite yourself to a man who loves you with a sincere and lasting affection. Even death will not separate two hearts that religion has joined. The happiness which I desire for you, has respect neither to time nor to the body, and will subsist independent of either. And not only so; it will increase when the body is destroyed, and when 'there shall be no more time.' And what comparison is there between this happiness and that offered by the world? The supreme good is that, of which nothing can deprive you. And what is that? Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard it; neither hath it entered into the heart of man to conceive it, for flesh and blood are incapable of it, it must be revealed to us by the Spirit of God. Blessed are they who have understood this word, 'Ye are my friends, what I have heard of my Father that have I shown you.'" Ep. 107.

On another occasion, in writing to a young man, who was wavering in his resolution, he says, "Why should you be surprised to find yourself still fluctuating between good and evil, before you have yet placed your feet on the solid ground? Oh that you could apprehend my meaning! Only Thou, my God, must discover to the eye of man, the things which Thou hast prepared for them that love Thee. 'Come unto me,' saith the Saviour, 'all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will refresh you.' Do you fear then to want strength, when it is the Truth that has promised to support you? May God grant you the knowledge of His law, and of His will." Ep. 206.

landed proprietor, and a man of high renown in arms [8], was the first to join him, and his example was followed by all Bernard's brothers who were come to man's estate, with the exception of Gerard, the second. He, who had distinguished himself as a brave knight [9], and had also acquired universal esteem and affection by his prudence and his kindness of heart, treated this sudden resolution of the rest as an impulse of levity, and rejected all the arguments of Bernard. On this occasion Bernard gave indications of that peculiar and lively confidence, which afterwards carried him through so many difficulties, "I

[8] His uncle was Gaudry, Count of Touillon.

[9] Burgundy was then a scene of great military excitement. This feudal province was governed by dukes of the family of Hugh Capet, and Robert the Old, duke of Burgundy, the son of Hugh, had in the year 1078, given his daughter Constance in marriage to Alphonso, the sixth king of Castile and Leon, and this alliance, in spite of the distance between the countries, drew into Spain a number of Burgundian knights, seeking adventures in a land which the Cid (whose death occurred on the day of the birth of Bernard) had illustrated by his exploits. Alphonso himself was so accomplished a knight, that the noblest cavaliers considered themselves fortunate in securing the advantages of forming themselves under his auspices.

The whole of Europe was also convulsed by intestine struggles and divisions. On one side, the Normans, by their conquests in England and Sicily, had excited the emulation of the French king and his nobles. On the other, the quarrels of the Emperor and the Pope, on the subject of investitures, had involved the Christian world in disputes, which were only to be settled by the sword. The crusade had also set all Europe in a flame, and no sooner had the two elder sons of Tecelin attained to man's estate, than catching the general enthusiasm, they burned to distinguish themselves in the career of arms. An opportunity soon offered; the Duke of Burgundy had involved himself in a quarrel, and Guido and Gerard had repaired to the camp of their suzerain.

know, my brother," he exclaimed, "that it is suffering only that will bring you to reflection, and," he continued, placing his hand on Gerard's side, "it shall come to pass, and quickly too, that a lance shall pierce thy side, and thus open thy heart to the counsel of salvation which thou dost now despise." In the sequel Gerard actually received a wound from a lance, and was taken prisoner, and on regaining his freedom (3) he embraced the monkish life with his brethren [10].

On the day that Bernard had united himself with the few whom he had won over to his opinions, he had repaired with them to church. The text announced was from the first chapter of St. Paul's Epistle to the Philippians and the sixth verse, "Being confident of this very thing, that he who hath begun a good work in you, will perform it unto the day of Jesus Christ." This Bernard regarded as a voice from heaven, to encourage him and his friends to persevere; and it gave occasion to a second animated discourse, by which he persuaded others to renounce the world with him. Many of these new votaries being married, he thought it incumbent on him to provide a retreat for those ladies who participated in the purpose of their husbands, and

[10] Gerard, being wounded and left on the field of battle, was taken prisoner by the enemy. In this situation, and fearing for his life from the effects of the wound, Gerard dispatched a messenger to entreat the presence of his brother. Bernard did not, however, think fit to visit him, but returned this answer: "Your wound is not unto death, but unto life." Gerard contrived to effect his escape, and from that time thought only of devoting himself to God. For his subsequent conduct and character, we cannot do better than to refer the reader to Bernard's own history of this, his much-beloved brother, in his funeral sermon preached soon after Gerard's death, and from which some extracts are given in a later portion of this work.

he caused the nunnery of Juilly, in the diocese of Langres, to be erected for them, which soon acquired both wealth and celebrity [1].

For the purpose of giving time to his companions to arrange their affairs, and in the hope of inducing others to join him, Bernard passed the next six months with them, in a house at Châtillon. Now it being the custom in that country, for those who had determined to embrace the monastic life to keep their intention secret till the time arrived for its fulfilment, (for since in many, who were by no means prepared to forego the pleasures of the world, this purpose was but the result of a temporary determination, such men might easily have been induced to abandon it, by the persuasions

[1] This was near to Dijon, and the wife of Guido, Bernard's eldest brother, was the first abbess of the establishment. She and her husband had separated by mutual consent, to devote themselves wholly to God.

It was to Juilly, that Hombeline, their sister, subsequently retired after the death of her husband, the brother of the Duchess of Lorraine. Mabillon, Ann. lib. 62, pt. 51. The site and endowment were given by Milon, Count of Bar.

The Duchess Adelaide of Lorraine, had been brought to a sense of religion by St. Bernard. There are but few documents of their intercourse extant; but an extract from one of these, will show how Bernard was wont to use the influence he had acquired. "I thank God," he begins, "for your pious care of His servants; for where we see the least spark of heavenly love in a heart of flesh, formerly puffed up by the pomps and the passions of this world, we may assuredly conclude that it is the result of divine grace, and not of human virtue. I entreat you to salute the duke, your husband, from me; and I exhort you both, by the love of God, to yield the castle, which you are preparing to defend, if you feel that your pretensions are unfounded. Remember, how it is written, 'What shall it profit a man, if he shall gain the whole world, and lose his own soul?'" Histoire de St. Bernard. Ratisbonne,

of others,) it thus excited the greater astonishment, when so many persons of all ages were seen resolved on renouncing wealth, honours, and domestic affection, without ever swerving from their resolution, during the long interval that preceded its accomplishment; and this was effected by the power and eloquence of a young man of three and twenty. At the end of that time Bernard, fearing lest the attractions of the world should seduce any of his associates, resolved to make their return to it impossible. When he and his brothers were taking a final leave of their paternal home, the eldest brother, addressing Nivard, the younger, who was playing with the children in the street, exclaimed, "See, my brother, the whole of our inheritance will now devolve on thee;" to which the boy with childish simplicity rejoined, "What! you take heaven for yourselves, and leave me but the earth! That is no fair division[2]."

Bernard did not think fit to make choice of any of the richer and more illustrious abbeys, as that of Clugni for instance, the heads of which had long[3] been held in honour by popes and emperors; he selected one poorly endowed, and numbering but few members[4], the many being deterred by its poverty, and by the extraor-

[2] The young Nivard afterwards joined his brethren, and Tecelin overwhelmed with grief at the loss of his sons, retired to Clairvaux, soon after the establisment of that convent, and took the vows. He died there in the arms of his son Bernard on the 11th of April, 1118. The chateau of Fontaines, the birth-place of Bernard, which had reverted to the crown, was granted by Lewis XIII. to the Feuillans, and by them converted into a monastery.

[3] The Benedictine monastery of Clugni was founded about the year 910, in the diocese of Maçon, by William the Pious, Duke of Aquitaine.

[4] It was a proof of Bernard's humility, that instead of founding a new religious order, like other men of eminent piety at this period, he preferred joining one of those already

dinary severity of its discipline. This was the convent of Citeaux (Cistercians), situate in a barren wilderness, in the diocese of Chalons-sur-Saone, and founded in the year 1098, by Robert, a nobleman of Champagne, in whom the luxury and sensuality which he had witnessed in other convents had excited the desire of devoting himself with a few companions to a stricter course of life, and one more in accordance with the letter of the Benedictine rule. To this convent, then presided over by Stephen Harding, an Englishman, and the second successor of Robert, Bernard retired with more than thirty associates, in the year of our Lord 1113[5]. He soon excited observation and astonishment by the personal activity which he had the power of combining with the

established. Bruno had retired to a solitude near Grenoble, where, in the year 1035, he had laid the foundations of the celebrated Chartreuse. In 1116, the order of Fontevrault, afterwards so illustrious, was begun by Robert d'Arbrisselles. The order of Prémontré had been instituted in 1120, by Norbert, the pious contemporary of Bernard. In 1124, Stephen and his companions had established the order of Grandmont, and the Cistercian, to which Bernard now united himself, had been commenced in the wilderness of Citeaux, situated in the forest of Beaulieu in Burgundy, about the year 1100, by Robert de Molenne, with the intention of reviving the strict rule of Benedict; but the system of mortification adopted was so severe, that even in the religious world it was spoken of with pity and aversion. Histoire de St. Bern.

[5] The monastery of Citeaux had been almost depopulated by a fatal epidemic, which had raged in the neighbourhood during the previous year. The monks, who, in addition to their constant fastings and mortifications, had recourse to the expedient of a quarterly bleeding, to which they submitted invariably in February, April, June, and September, for the purpose of more effectually subduing the flesh, and who were moreover accustomed to resort to this, as almost their only remedy in all cases of sickness, were the first to fall victims to this malady.

most profound abstractedness of spirit, and by his command over his bodily appetites. During the hours devoted to field labour, his mind was elevated to the consideration of that which lies beyond and above nature (4); and he used to say, in after years, that, "any knowledge of divine things that he might possess, or any facility in explaining Holy Scripture, had been obtained through meditation and prayer among the woods and in the fields, with none but the beeches and the oaks for his teachers[6]." His reputation soon

[6] The subject of his continual meditations was the sufferings of Our Lord Jesus Christ. He was wont to compare this exercise to the nosegay of myrrh, that the spouse in the Canticles had gathered with pious care to plant in her bosom. In one of his sermons on the Canticles he thus expresses himself on the subject:—"From the very beginning of my conversion, my brethren, feeling my own great deficiency in virtue, I appropriated to myself this nosegay of myrrh, composed of all the sufferings and the pains of my Saviour; of the privations to which He submitted in His childhood; the labours that He endured in His preaching; the fatigue that He underwent in His journeyings; of His watchings in prayer, His temptations in fasting, His tears of compassion; of the snares that were laid for Him in his words; of His perils among false brethren; of the outrages, the spitting, the smiting, the mockery, the insults, the nails; in a word, of all the grief of all kinds that He submitted to for the salvation of man. I have discovered that wisdom consists in meditating on these things, and that in them alone is the perfection of justice, the plenitude of knowledge, the riches of salvation, and the abundance of merit; and in these contemplations I find relief from sadness, moderation in success, and safety in the royal highway of this life; so that I march on between the good and evil, scattering on either side the perils by which I am menaced. This is the reason why I always have these things in my mouth, as you know, and always in my heart, as God knows; they are habitually recurring in my writings, as every one may see; and my most sublime philosophy is to know Jesus Christ, and Him crucified." Serm. 43, in Cant. Cantic.

drew many votaries to Citeaux, and the convent could not furnish accommodation for the increasing numbers who flocked to its gates for admission, and two additional cloisters were built, the funds being supplied by the voluntary contributions of the pious. The abbey of Clairvaux, which soon became so famous, was next founded, and contributed more than any other to the extension and celebrity of the Cistercian order. The site had been granted to Abbot Harding for this purpose, by Hugo, a knight of Champagne, who had been previously urged by devotional feeling, to undertake a pilgrimage to the Holy Sepulchre, and who subsequently joined the Knights-Templars. It was a wild and desolate spot in the bishopric of Langres, and had formerly, when a robber's cave had existed there, been known by the name of the Valley of Wormwood (Vallis Absinthialis) (5); but since the extirpation of this plant, it had been called the clear or bright valley[7] (Clara-

[7] According to the Jesuit Merlin, "the valley derived its name from the plant wormwood (Artemisia Absinthium), which grew abundantly there. The soil seems peculiarly suited to its growth, and it is still cultivated in the gardens of the district for its medicinal virtues, which are here said to be more fully developed than elsewhere." Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire des Sciences et Beaux Arts, 1re partie, art. 1, 1739.

With regard to its subsequent appellation, "We cannot," says the above-cited author, "contemplate the valley of Clairvaux on a fine day, without feeling that it deserves the name, and that it was derived from the beauty of its situation, lying open, as it does, to the sun's rays in every direction. It is formed by two hills of equal height, one to the north, the other to the south of the valley. These hills extend towards a third eminence, by which it is divided into two long and narrow gorges at the western extremity. On the east it loses itself in a fertile plain, watered by the river Aube. The rays of the sun are thus darted full on the valley during the morning, while the declivities on the

vallis). It was in the third year of his profession, that Bernard was called to preside as abbot over the newly established convent. This was in the year 1115 [8].

In order to receive abbatical ordination, Bernard repaired to the Bishop of Châlons-sur-Marne, the celebrated Guillaume de Champeaux (a Campellis) [9], the

north and south, which recede as they approach the east, receive them during the remainder of the day; the light being thus continually reflected from the hills above, no part of the valley, except that which is covered by the woods, is in shadow till the fall of eve, when the western hills hide the setting luminary completely."

[8] Bernard was accompanied by his four brothers, his uncle Gauldry, the young Robert, two monks bearing the name of Godfrey, one of whom was his relation, an aged monk called Elbold, and Guibert; the number twelve being chosen to represent the apostolic college, while the abbot was supposed to represent the Saviour. The ceremonial observed on these occasions was simple and affecting. After a solemn service, the newly-elected abbot received from the hands of the president of the monastery a cross; he then rose, and quitted the church, followed by his twelve associates, and, having taken leave of the brethren, the community departed chanting an appropriate psalm. "When," says the Cistercian Chronicle, "Bernard and his twelve monks silently took their departure from the church, you might have seen tears in the eyes of all present, while nothing was to be heard but the voices of those who were singing the hymns; and even those brethren could not repress their sobs, in spite of that sense of religion which led them to make the strongest efforts to command their feelings. Those who remained and those who departed were all involved in one common sorrow, till the procession reached that gate which was to open for some, and to close upon the rest." Ann. Cist. l. n. 6, 7, p. 79.

Clairvaux and Morimont, founded in 1115, with the abbeys of La Ferte and Pontigny, established the one in the year 1113, the other in 1114, were called Les quatres filles de Citeaux.

[9] This prelate was the founder of the celebrated abbey of St. Victor at Paris. After having powerfully assisted St. Bernard in

diocese of Langres being at that time vacant. He was then in his twenty-sixth year (6), and so emaciated as rather to resemble a corpse than a living being[1]; he

all his plans and alms-deeds, he departed, "full of years and of good works," says his biographer, in 1118.

[1] The privations which these poor monks submitted to for many months are almost unheard of. Incessantly occupied in the erection of their monastic buildings, they had no opportunity of gaining their bread by their labours; and, as they had taken possession of the marshy desert that had been given up to them too late for sowing the ground, the earth of course yielded them no fruits, and the neighbouring proprietors, who had at first testified great admiration at the conduct of the devotees, and vied with each other in ministering to their wants, became equally familiar with their sanctity and their necessities, and ceased to regard either. A coarse bread made of barley and millet, and beech leaves cooked in salt and water, formed their only nourishment; and this too at the beginning of the winter season. At last their supply of salt was exhausted, and the hearts of some of the fraternity began to fail them; but Bernard, calling to him one of the brethren, desired him to take the ass and buy salt at the market. The man prepared to do the bidding of his superior, but before he set out he asked for money to pay for the commodity. "Take faith," replied Bernard, "for as to money I know not when we shall have any; but He who holds my purse in his hands, and who is the depository of my treasure, is above." The monk smiled, and rejoined, "It seemeth to me, my father, that if I go empty handed, I shall return empty handed." "Nevertheless, go," replied the abbot; "and go in faith. I tell thee that our Great Treasurer will be with thee, and will supply all thy necessities." On this the poor friar, after receiving the benediction of his superior, set out with the ass on his journey. On his way "the God of all consolation was pleased to assist him," says the chronicler; for, meeting a priest who accosted him, and inquired his business, Guibert (for that was the name of the messenger) told his errand, and made known the penury of his convent; and the priest, touched with compassion, took him to his own home, and supplied him abundantly with all sorts of provisions. On Guibert's return with his replenished paniers, Ber-

was accompanied by a stout and well made Cistercian, and the striking contrast between them excited among the clergy and attendants of the bishop, either laughter, or surprise and reverence, according to the disposition of the individual. The bishop, who recognized the vital spirit, which, veiled beneath the mantle of humility, animated the wasted frame, became Bernard's most zealous friend and admirer, and contributed greatly to extend his reputation among the other bishops. It was evident that the rigidly ascetic mode of living which Bernard had adopted at Clairvaux, must, if persisted in, prove fatal to his declining health; and Guillaume de Champeaux, apprehensive of this, obtained from the Cistercian chapter the superintendance of his friend for one year. He caused a sort of hut to be erected for him, beyond the cloisters, where he was to remain for a year, without interfering in any way with the affairs of

nard said to him, "I tell you, my son, nothing is more necessary to a Christian than faith: hold fast faith, and it will be well with thee all the days of thy life." These succours, and others equally unexpected, were however merely temporary, and Clairvaux soon relapsed into a condition of absolute destitution. The monks, exposed to cold and hunger and other privations, gave themselves up to despair, and openly manifested their wish of returning to Citeaux. Bernard himself was so far overpowered by witnessing the moral and personal sufferings of his brethren, that his health gave way, and he became incapable of preaching to them, and they were thus deprived at once of bodily and of spiritual sustenance. This state of things, which lasted sixteen or seventeen months, required all the influence and exertion of Bernard to prevent the utter dissolution of the infant establishment, and to turn this severe trial to the advantage of his brethren. At the expiration of this term many rich offerings were made to the convent, and the ground first broken by the labours of the starving monks, began to yield them her fruit, and to supply their most urgent necessities.

the monastery, and under the charge of a man, who indeed took but little care of him[2]. But no sooner

[2] The following account of the treatment to which Bernard was subjected, is from the pen of his friend, the Abbot Guillaume de St. Thierry:—

"It was about this time (1116) that my visits to Clairvaux commenced, and, coming to see the saint in company with another abbot, I found him in his cell, which was similar to those usually assigned to leprous persons on the highways. He had been relieved from the presidence of the convent by the commands of the bishop and the chapter, and was then enjoying a state of perfect tranquillity, living to God, and transported with joy as though he had already tasted the delights of Paradise. When I entered this chamber of royalty, and began to contemplate the lodgings and the guest, I was penetrated with the most profound respect; and, on entering into conversation with this man, I found such vivacity and such a sweetness in his discourse, that I conceived a strong desire to remain with him, and to share his poverty; so that, if I could have chosen my lot among all that the world has to offer, I should have desired none other than that of staying always with the man of God as his servitor.

"After he had welcomed us with gracious kindness, we proceeded to ask what he did, and how he passed his life in this cell. He replied with that benevolent smile which is habitual to him, 'I do well, very well here; for formerly reasonable beings submitted themselves to my orders; now, by the just judgment of God, I am obliged to submit myself to a man devoid of reason.' This he said in reference to a conceited quack who had boastfully engaged to cure him, and to whose charge he had been committed by the bishop and the community. We sat at table with him, expecting to find him under the strictest regimen for the re-establishment of his precious health, so essential to all; but when we saw him served, and by the doctor's orders, with viands so coarse and revolting (lumps of rancid butter constituted part of the fare), that a hungry person in good health would scarcely be persuaded to touch them, we were indignant, and our vow of silence alone withheld us from treating this empiric as a murderer and sacrilegious person. For the man of God, he was indifferent to these things, having lost all power of discriminating

was Bernard released from this state of surveillance, than with his abbot's place he resumed his former austerities. The whole convent was animated by his spirit and example. Men of illustrious descent, who had formerly played a distinguished part on the theatre of the world, now by their hard labour in the sweat of their brow, and by their ascetic self-denial, which at that era ever made the most profound impression on the devotion of the nobles and people, and brought in the most costly offerings, prepared for the convent and district of Clairvaux, (where the soil at first yielded them only the scantiest sustenance,) the great wealth (7) that in the course of some decades of years it had acquired. But the impression which the situation of the convent, and the ascetic discipline established by Bernard, produced on the minds of men in general, is best described in the words of the contemporary author of his life.

"It was a dreary spot, inclosed by gloomy woods and rugged mountains, and those who came down from

the flavour of meats, his stomach being entirely disordered, and incapable of performing its functions." (It appears from the details that Bernard had completely lost the power of digesting any sort of food.)

"Such was the state in which I found this servant of Jesus Christ; such was his manner of life in his solitude; but he was not alone,—God and his holy angels were with him."

Of the diet commonly observed at Clairvaux, we have an account in the record of the visit of Pope Innocent:—

"The bread, instead of being of fine wheaten flour, was of bran mingled with flour; instead of sweet wine, there was the juice of herbs (sapa) (evidently the modern *soup*); and, in the place of all kinds of meat, there was nothing but vegetables; or if, by chance, there happened to be any fish, it was placed before our lord the pope, rather to be looked at than to be eaten." Ernald. cap. i. No. 6, p. 1109.

these mountains, and saw the valley filled with men, among whom no idleness was permitted, each engaged in active labour, and busied in performing his allotted task, in silence deep as that of night, and only interrupted by the clang of the workmen, and the hymns of praise to God, were so awed by this solemn stillness, that they forbore to speak upon any but sacred subjects as long as they were within the precincts of the valley."

But the unusual severity of the discipline to which Bernard had subjected his physical nature, had at last completely prostrated his bodily powers, and he was compelled by his declining health to relax somewhat of his austerity; he was no longer able to conform exactly to the precepts of the Benedictine rule[3], but was under

[3] The following is a copy of a translation of the Benedictine rule, given by Fosbrooke:—

"Abbot to represent Christ—to call all his monks to council in important affairs, and afterwards adopt the advice he thought best. Obedience without delay; silence; no sensuality, idle words, or such as excite laughter; humility; patience in all injuries; manifestation of secret faults to the abbot; contentment with the meanest things and employments; not to speak unasked; to avoid laughter; head and eyes inclined downwards; to rise to church two hours after midnight; every week the psalter to be sung through; to leave the church altogether, at a sign from the superior; a dean over every ten monks in large houses; light in the dormitory; to sleep clothed, with their girdles on, the young and old intermixed. Upon successless admonition and public reprehension, excommunication; and, in failure of this, personal chastisement. For light faults, the smaller excommunication, or eating alone after the others had done; for great faults, separation from the table, prayers, and society, and neither himself nor food to receive the benediction; those who joined him, or spoke to him, to be themselves excommunicated; the abbot to send seniors to persuade him to humility, and making satisfaction; the whole congregation to pray for the offender, and, if successless, to proceed to expulsion. No person expelled to be received

the necessity of retiring from the convent to a separate dwelling, where he remained, except when his presence

after the third expulsion. Children to be punished by fasting or whipping. Cellarer to do nothing without the abbot's order, and in large houses to have assistants. Habits and goods of the house to be in the hands of proper officers, the abbot to have an account of them. No property; distribution according to every one's necessities. The monks to serve weekly, and by turns, at the kitchen and table. On leaving their week, he that leaves and he that begins it, to wash the feet of the others, and on Saturday to clean all the plates, and the linen which wiped the others' feet. To resign the dishes clean and whole to the cellarer, who delivers them to the new subdomadary. Those officers to have drink and food above the common allowance, before the others, that they may wait upon them cheerfully. The hebdomadaries, both entering and retiring from office, were, on solemn days, to continue till the masses; after matins on the Sunday, to kneel and beg the others to pray for them; then, those going out, to say a certain prayer three times, and receive the benediction; the one coming in to do the same, and, after benediction, to enter into office.

" Infirmary—its offices. Use of the baths, and flesh for the sick ordered. Rule mitigated to children and old men, who had leave to anticipate the hours of eating. Refection in silence, and reading scripture during meals. What was wanted, to be asked for by a sign. Reader to be appointed for the week. Two different dishes at dinner, with fruit. One pound of bread a-day, for both dinner and supper. No meat but to the sick. Three-quarters of a pint of wine daily. From Holyrood to Lent, dine at nones; in Lent till Easter, at six o'clock; from Easter to Lentward, at sextand all summer, except on Wednesdays and Fridays, then at nones. Collation or spiritual lecture every night before complin (after supper), and, complin finished, silence. Loss of rank, subtraction of wine or their allowance, or sitting in the place of disgrace, for tardiness at church or table. Prostration with the face to the ground, without the church gate, when the monks went to pray, for the excommunicated. Immediate pardon to be sought for. A fault in the chant, faults in other places, or breaking anything, to be spontaneously acknowledged

was particularly required[4]. Indeed he used, in after years, to lament the youthful enthusiasm which had led

before the abbot and congregation. Abbot to give the signal for going to church, and nobody to sing or read there without his leave. Work from prime till near ten o'clock; from Easter till Cal. October, from ten till near twelve, reading. After refection, at twelve; the meridian or sleep, unless any one preferred reading. After nones, labour again till the evening. From Cal. Oct. to Lent, reading till 8 A.M.; then trine, and after labour till nones. After refection, reading or psalmody. In Lent, reading till trine; doing what was ordered till ten; delivery of the books at this season made. Senior to go round the house, and see that the monks were not idle. On Sunday all read, except the officers, and the idle and the infirm, who had work given them. Particular abstinence in Lent from meat, drink, and sleep, and especial gravity. Monks travelling, to say the canonical hours wherever they may happen to be. Monks staying out beyond a day not to eat abroad without the abbot's leave. No other use than that of prayer to be made of the church*. Strangers to be received with prayers by them and the monks; the kiss of peace, prostration, and washing their feet, as of Christ, whom they represented; then to be led to prayer, the scriptures read to them; after which the prior might break his fast (except on a high fast). Abbot's kitchen distinct from that of the visitors, so that the monks might not be disturbed by the entrance of guests at unreasonable hours. No letters or presents to be received without the abbot's leave. Abbot to invite his monks when he had no strangers. Workmen in the house to labour for the common profit. Novices to be tried by denial and hard labour before admission; rule read to them in the interim every fourth month; admitted by a petition laid upon the altar, and prostration at the feet of all the monks. Parents to offer their children by wrapping their hands

* Thus Theodolphus, bishop of Orleans, after Bennet's era, says,—"Videmus crebro in ecclesiis messes et fœnum congeri." We see corn and hay stored in churches.—Epist. p. 263. The canon in Lyndwood "against carrying on trades in churches," is well known. This had been permitted during the holding of the fairs.—M. Paris, 1096.

him to reduce his strength to such a degree, as almost to render himself useless both to God and man. But this

in the pall of the altar, promising to leave nothing to them; and, if they gave anything with them, reserving the use of it during their lives. Priests requesting admission to be tried by delays; to sit near the abbot, but not to exercise sacerdotal functions without leave, and to conform to the rule. Strange monks to be received, and if of good, entreated to stay. Monks ordained priests, to be subject to the rule and officers, or else expelled. Precedence, according to the time of profession. Elders to call the juniors brothers, the juniors to call the elders, nonnos; the abbot Dommus or Peter. When two monks met, the junior was to ask benediction of the senior; and when he passed by, the junior was to rise and give him his seat, nor to sit till he had time. Abbot to be elected by the whole society, and plurality of votes, his life and prudence to be the qualifications. Prior elected by the abbot, deposable for disobedience. Porter to be a wise old man, able to give and receive an answer; he was to have a cell near the gate, and a junior for a companion. If possible to prevent evagation, water, mill, garden, oven, and all other mechanical shops, to be within the house. Monks going on a journey to have the previous prayers of the house, and on return to pray for pardon of excesses by the way. Impossible things ordered by the superior to be humbly represented to him; but if he persisted, the assistance of God to be relied on for their execution. Not to defend or excuse one another's faults. No blows or excommunication without the permission of the abbot. Mutual obedience, but no preference of a private person's commands over those of a superior. Prostration at the feet of the superiors as long as they were angry." Sanctorum Patrum Reg. Monast. Louv. 12mo. 1571, fol. 9. 51. Joh. de Turrecremata. Concordia Regularum, &c. &c.

King Edgar bestowed a manor on Ethelwolf, bishop of Winchester, on condition of his translating the rule of Benedict out of Latin into the Anglo-Saxon; and the version is still preserved in the Bodleian library, together with a tract of that prelate's. Fosbrooke.

The most remarkable instance of deviation from this rule in those who professed to observe it in all its strictness, was pro-

he need not have regretted (8), for the influence of his *mind* was far greater than any personal influence could have been; and the frailty of the body did but serve to strengthen the impression of the superiority of that spirit, which, from a tabernacle so unimposing, could triumph over the power of turbulent knights: and hence those who saw and heard Bernard on occasions of importance, were easily led to embrace the opinion that, was current, even during his life, that in virtue of the power committed to him by God, he could command the laws of nature: an opinion confirmed by the ardent confidence of the man, who really believed that in order to accomplish his purposes, miracles would be wrought, and that the things which were present to his mind, would assuredly be brought to pass.

He did not again return to his former strict retire-

bably that of the nuns of Poulangis, in the diocese of Langres, of whom the Count de Boulainvilliers, writing in 1727, gives the following account:—"Although they take the three vows, they are neither veiled nor cloistered; each has her separate establishment, and the greater number live at the expense of their respective families. The abbess is bound to supply each sister with provisions to the amount of 200 livres. Only the daughters of the first nobility are received there. Its revenues are about 5,000 livres, and the abbess considers herself to have no other ecclesiastical superior but the pope. This monastery was founded in the year 1250, but the name of the founder is unknown."

[4] During this second interval of retirement, which he passed principally in his separate cell, he devoted himself to the particular study and meditation of the Holy Scriptures, and was sometimes heard to lament the frequency of the interruptions to which he was exposed; but he would instantly recollect himself, observing, "That the flame of divine love was not given for our own solitary advantage, but for the enlightening of our neighbour also, and that thus to use it, was the most acceptable way of serving God, and imitating the Lord Jesus."

ment[5]; the universal veneration with which he was regarded, drew persons of all ranks to see him, and to ask his counsel, and receive his instructions. Activity was necessary to him; and since he could no longer fulfil the *active* duties of the monkish life, he strove to work upon the minds of those with whom he came in contact, through his discourses; he took a lively interest in all affairs of importance, and made use of the penetration and eloquence which were natural to him, to adapt himself to the particular circumstances of every individual. Already we find Bernard, at this early period of his life, taking an active part, in small as well as in great matters; we see him in connexion with all that was most illustrious in Church and State, both in and out of France; his counsel was universally solicited, and he took the deepest interest in all ecclesiastical affairs. We hear him rebuking, with disinterested severity, the disorders and abuses, as well as the sins, prevailing in the Church; and with impressive dignity exhorting individuals to pursue a course more becoming their spiritual calling. We see him labouring for the dignity and extension of

[5] The celebrated abbey of Fontenai was founded by Bernard soon after his return to the duties of superior, in 1113. He despatched twelve monks to seek for a suitable situation in the diocese of Autun, with Godfrey, one of his original companions, at their head. The church, which was not finished till some years, was consecrated by Pope Eugenius in person, assisted by ten cardinals and eight bishops. Many privileges were accorded to this abbey by successive popes; among others, the somewhat singular one of fighting among themselves, and receiving absolution for having done so. The exemption granted by Philip the Bold, duke of Burgundy, their feudal superior, is almost equally remarkable: by his especial grace, they were excused from furnishing white bread for his dogs when he hunted near the abbey.

his order; interceding with the great with earnest solicitations for those who were suffering and oppressed, through their injustice; defending the *independence* of the Church against monarchs, and daring to assert the *interests* of the Church, even against popes, when they were found to act in opposition thereto. But this external activity was not suffered to interfere with the inward life of his contemplative nature (9); and he was always striving to impart to others, both by his writings and his discourses, some portion of that spirit with which he was replenished. This great external activity prevented the development of that depth and freedom of contemplation, which we meet with in other mystics, whose internal life permitted it: but in him the practical and the sensitive[6] were the predominant tendencies; and the latter, owing to the peculiar rhetoric of the times, often appears to degenerate into an exaggerated sensibility. The most graphic details of Bernard's influence and connexions are those presented in the letters written by him at this interval; and we therefore select some, with the view of making our portrait the more impressive.

At that era, when the administration of justice was yet, in a great measure, dependent on the arbitrary will of the nobles, a certain vassal of the Count Thibaut, of Champagne[7], named Humbert, had suffered banish-

[6] Empfindungen.

[7] This was Thibaut the Second, called the Great, who succeeded his uncle Hugo, the founder of Clairvaux, in 1135, and whose mother was Adela, daughter of William the Conqueror. These sovereign princes, who were of the royal house, ruled over a large extent of country. Champagne, at this time, included the archbishoprics of Rheims and Sens, and the bishoprics of Langres, Châlons, Troyes, and Metz. The archbishop of Rheims has the title of first duke and peer of France, and is, in virtue of his office, legate of the holy see, and primate of Belgic Gaul; but the super-

ment and confiscation of his goods, on account of some alleged offence, concerning which he had maintained his readiness to justify himself. He became a houseless and destitute wanderer, and left his wife and children in the most wretched and helpless condition. They had recourse to Bernard, and implored his mediation with the Count in their unhappy case. Bernard's compassion was excited, and he first applied to two of the principal abbots of the province, to lay the affair before the Count, who generally showed great respect to the authority of the Church. Their interference was, however, unavailing; and thereupon Bernard wrote himself to the Count, as follows:

"Had I asked of thee gold, silver, or the like, I am fully persuaded that I should have obtained my request; yea, I have already received much from your liberality unasked. Wherefore then am I counted unworthy to obtain from you the only thing I *have* asked, and that not in my own, but in God's name; not for my own sake—but, far more, for yours? Know you not that 'with what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again?' Know you not that it is as easy, ay, a thousand times easier, for God to cast you out of the heavenly inheritance, than for you to eject Humbert from his patrimony? There are, indeed, cases, where the guilt is so manifest, that justice leaves no room for the exercise of mercy: but even then you must take vengeance in sorrow and trembling, impelled rather by ne-

intendence of the dioceses of Arras, Cambrai, Terouanne, and Tournai, was taken from him in the year 1560, by papal bulls. Champagne was united to the French crown in 1316, when Louis the Tenth succeeded to the dominions of the ancient counts, in right of his mother, Joan, queen of Navarre, and heiress of Champagne and Brie.

cessity and judicial duty, than by any desire of avenging yourself."

These representations had their due effect; the Count investigated Humbert's case, recognized his innocence, and promised a reversal of the sentence: but the influence of powerful adversaries, who had found their advantage in the confiscation of Humbert's goods, prevented the fulfilment of the promise. On this Bernard wrote again, and in a still more earnest strain, to the Count. (Ep. 38.) "I am indeed unwilling to offend you, but must I not fear, lest I should offend God, if I neglect the cause of the afflicted? I may not refuse my sympathy to the widow and her orphans—to those whose pitiful lot it is to be orphans, even in the lifetime of their father."

The Count Thibaut had endeavoured, by strong prohibitory laws, to put a stop to the practice of duelling in his dominions (that remnant of the trial by ordeal), a practice so injurious in all respects, and so fruitful in deeds of lawless violence; but in the punishment which he awarded for the infraction of the prohibition, he overstepped the moderation of humanity.

He who was vanquished in a duel had his eyes put out, and the Count's people were then at liberty to appropriate all his substance to themselves. Here again Bernard pleaded the cause of the unfortunate; (Ep. 34.) "It is but right that he should receive back so much as may suffice for the support of his miserable life; and it is quite inconsistent with justice that his sons should be deprived of their paternal inheritance, and made to suffer for the crime of their father (10)."

We know that in individuals the godlike principle is exposed to a continual struggle with the world in all its manifold insinuating forms, and that if a man be beguiled

from his watchfulness, or grow weary of the contest, this extraneous influence attracts and finally overpowers the better nature; so that the whole order of his being is reversed, and that which was intended as a means, becomes an end; that which should have ministered, rules supreme: so it is with mankind in general, since human nature is the same in all; and this is the reason why all human institutions rise, through still recurring corruptions, to higher degrees of excellence and purity. As the Church advanced from her state of bondage into the world, she gradually mixed herself up more and more with that which is, in the world, the predominating influence; and so that which was committed to the ministers of the Church, as a means of external efficiency, came to be regarded by many as the object of their labours. The corruptions of the Church, in the first rude period of the middle ages, chiefly originated with the temporal princes. The cupidity of the higher orders among the laity had been excited by the wealth of the ecclesiastical endowments, which had been for the most part acquired through the hard labour and self-denial of the original founders; and the sovereign princes, accustomed to exercise unlimited sway over all within their own dominions, proceeded to bestow the principal benefices on their favourites, or to sell them to the highest bidder. Men thus appointed regarded the holy office only as a means of gain, and being the mere creatures of the temporal prince, were also most liable to be influenced by him. These evils, the natural result of the disturbing influence of the temporal power, led to the formation of a plan, by vigorous minded men, then at the head of the Church [8], for excluding it from all in-

[8] Such as Gregory the Seventh, who, at all events, was quite incapable of any petty personal selfishness, although much of the

fluence whatever in the appointment to ecclesiastical benefices, and for forming the Church into one predominant, compact, and independent body, which, in virtue of its independence, would but act the more powerfully on the state. But here, also, the only advantage was in the struggle; for the rulers of the Church were men, and men who, from the very elevation of their position, were but the more exposed to the influence of corruption (11). The external laws and ordinances, framed for the purpose of reducing the clergy to the mode of life befitting their vocation, had no permanent or general effect; and the same causes that had originated the corruptions, either annihilated those salutary ordinances, or perverted their original intention. And thus the canonical life, which was intended to promote a closer connexion, a real spiritual union, between the bishop and the other clergy, did, in fact, when the united clergy made themselves independent of the bishop, lead to the exactly opposite result; so that every one received with his office his own share of the ecclesiastical revenues, and troubled himself but little about the bishop. In this manner many of the nobles had thrust themselves into certain prebends, and in some cases even gone so far as to make them hereditary in their families. These men, actuated only by the love of money, and totally devoid of all capacity, and of any knowledge of their clerical duties, hired itinerant priests to minister for them in the offices of public worship (12). It was by means of these persons of condition, that the vices and errors, then prevailing among those of their own rank, were introduced among the clergy; these were rudeness of man-

gentleness of humanity may have been overpowered by his monastic education.—*Neander.*

ners, and an extravagant fondness for pomp and show. It was in vain for the popes to enact synodal laws against simony, pomp, excess, and the worldly life of the clergy; ingenious selfishness always found means, by some artful pretext, to evade their observance. This corruption of the priesthood, which was more strikingly developed at this period than it had been in former times, though then the root was the same, as the elements of the mischief were always in existence, excited in the hearts of better men the desire to effect a reformation among the clergy, and the endeavour to bring them back to their spiritual destination. Bernard was one of those better men, although his knowledge of human nature kept him aloof from the stormy reformation-zeal (13) of a Gerocks Von Reichensberg, and, regardless of consequences, he rebuked vices and abuses, and availed himself of every opportunity, by the earnestness and authority of his exhortations and heart-rending reproofs, to lead individuals of eminence to a change of mind, and a more spiritual course of life (14). Such an opportunity was offered him in the case of the Archbishop Henri, of Sens—one of the most distinguished of the French prelates, who, classed among the court clergy, had ministered to the inclinations of the sovereign, till, aroused by the exhortations of some more pious bishops, he had resolved to amend his life, and selected for his guide and counsellor, Godfrey, bishop of Chartres, a man universally esteemed for his disinterested piety, moderation, and experience. Bernard was no sooner informed of this, than he made known to the archbishop his sorrow for his former course of life, and the joy with which he had contemplated his conversion; and also set before him the duties of his office, in contrast with the vices and abuses prevailing in the clerical

order. Such were the object and occasion of his work, "on the Conduct and Calling of Bishops[9]." He first draws the character of a true priest, who, by a genuine *spiritual* life, becomes an example to his flock. "Is it fitting," he says, "that the shepherd should, like the animals, follow the sensual appetites, that he should cleave to the vilest things, and seek after earthly matters? And not rather, standing erect like a man, look up by the Spirit into heaven, in search of the Supreme God?" He then represents the vocation of a Christian priest, as it appeared to him in that age. "As a good mediator he brings to God the prayers and pious purposes of the congregation, and conveys back to them the blessing and the grace of God; he implores the Supreme Being for the forgiveness of sinners, and rebukes sinners for their offences against God: the unthankful he reminds of God's favours; the blasphemous and despisers, of his inexorable justice; yet striving all the while to reconcile their offended God to them. Now exhibiting the weakness of man, and then dwelling on the greatness of their Heavenly Father's love; a faithful priest, who regardeth, with dove-like simplicity, all the wealth that passes through his hands, whether it be of 'the dew of heaven from above,' or the vows of men that are offered unto God, keeping back nought for himself, and seeking, not the gifts, but the good, of his flock; not his own glory, but the glory of God."

With so much of genuine Gospel truth as there is in this picture, we yet see in it the fatal mistake from which a whole fabric of human illusion was to arise—as though the God, Whose very being is consistent, undenying love, Who *of Himself* offered up Himself only for the

[9] "De Moribus et Officio Episcoporum," in Op. Ber. ed. Mabillon. A. I. p. 468.

redemption of fallen man, and that He might render man capable of pardon, should yet require a reconciling mediator. It is true that the mistake originated solely in words, which ever proceed from a *subjective, apparent, horizon;* Bernard himself says that the priest only represents to God *His fatherly love.* But the error easily passes over into the mind [1], and men were thus misled to widen, in imagination, the breach between themselves and the Godhead, which was filled up by Christ, to embrace the idea of the Mediator only externally, and thus to devise a graduated succession of mediators.

After having proposed this pattern of a priest and minister, Bernard goes on to rebuke the opposite errors and abuses; the pomp of the clergy, especially in their dress, the costly foreign furs, worn on occasions of ceremony (15), and their horse furniture, decorated as it was with the richest ornaments, and glittering with gold and precious stones. With the most moving earnestness he reminds them, that what they thus lavish in vain pomp is taken from the poor. The naked and the hungry complain, and cry aloud "you are squandering that which belongs to us, for we also are God's creatures, and the blood of Christ was shed for our redemption as well as yours." "If," says Bernard to the Archbishop (c. 7), "he be tempted to pride by his condition, his age, his learning, or the dignity of his episcopal see, he will be straightway humbled, and filled with dread by the consciousness of the responsibility of his calling; and indeed, it is only because men are prevented by the glare of the splendour which surrounds them, from discerning their duties and burdens, that they press forward to the highest ecclesiastical offices." Here he manifests his

[1] Germ. Denken—thought.

displeasure at the traffic which is carried on in holy things. School-boys and beardless youths [2], whose birth is their only merit, are promoted to ecclesiastical dignities—boys who rejoice in these chiefly as a means of escaping from the rod. And what is yet more wonderful, the clergy themselves, impelled only by covetousness and ambition, overlook their duties and burdens in their eager seeking after higher dignities. Is one a bishop, he then aspires to an archbishopric; has he attained that, he then dreams of something still higher, and by tedious journeys and costly friendships, seeks to purchase partizans at the court of Rome. Some endeavour to get all privileges at once, under the pretext of extending their dioceses beyond their proper limits; they appropriate to themselves that which does not belong to them, and alas! even *on the very threshold of the Apostles*, they find men capable of favouring their evil purposes: not that the Romans take any great interest in the *result of the business*, but because they gladly receive the bribes that it brings with it." By the side of this greedy ambition, Bernard places the affected humility, with which men entered on the episcopal office, and which had become a mere formal etiquette. "Verily (16), as though ye had been *forced* into the bishopric, ye did weep and complain of compulsion, and style yourselves wretched and unworthy, and altogether unmeet for so holy an office."

[2] About this time, says Hallam, "a child five years of age was made archbishop of Rheims; the see of Narbonne was purchased for another of ten, and it was almost general in the church to have bishops under twenty." The canonical age was at first 31, after the example of our Saviour. It was afterwards ordained, that none should enter on a bishopric, who was under fifty years of age; exceptions were however allowed in cases when particular piety and talent were exhibited.

Nor did Bernard spare the brethren of his own order, but laying bare their assumption of lowly-mindedness, he reproves those abbots who had purchased from the popes, at the expense of their convent, the exemption from episcopal jurisdiction, with permission to wear the insignia of this privilege, the *mitra*, *annulus*, and *sandalia*. (This circumstance proves how rapidly a monkish order could extend itself in those times, since scarcely fifteen years had elapsed since Bernard's entrance into the convent of Citeaux, which was then very poor, and the only one of the order.) He calls these abbots "men who conceal their pride under the semblance of humility."

Whenever Bernard found that the better purposes which his exhortations had been the means of exciting, in many of the clergy, had also excited a spirit of persecution against them, on account of their change of life, he immediately exerted all his power and authority in their behalf. It often happened that they became involved in strife with the rest of the so-called irregular clergy, with whose habits and desires these changes were little in accordance, as well as with the princes, who dreaded finding in the now rigid bishops, zealous and courageous champions of the freedom and independence of the church, and were thus induced to regard the worldly and dissolute lives of the clergy as more conducive to their own interests. His daring zeal in the cause of his friends, Bernard now displayed in the case of the above-cited archbishop Henri of Sens, and in that of Stephen, archbishop of Paris, who were both suffering persecution on account of their reformed lives. Lewis the sixth, king of France, had forcibly deprived the archbishop of Paris and his clergy of a portion of their goods; Bernard espoused their cause,

and wrote to the king in the name of his whole order, (with which Lewis, as one entitled, as a *frater adscriptus*[3] to have interest in their prayers and merits, stood in close connection) threatening to have recourse to the pope in the archbishop's behalf; but at the same time offering his own mediation between the parties. Many of the bishops threw themselves at the king's feet in his presence, but he remained inexorable. On the morrow, Bernard reproached him vehemently with having despised the priests of the Most High, and concluded with this menace, "Your obstinacy will be punished by the death of your eldest son Philip, for last night in a dream I saw you, with your younger son Lewis, fall at the feet of the bishops, whom you yesterday set at nought; and thence I infer that the death of your first-born is at hand, and will compel you to implore the favour of that church which you now oppress, to allow you to set your Lewis in his place." In the course of about three years Prince Philip died, in consequence of a fall from his horse, (1130) and the king caused the young Lewis to be consecrated[4] in the room of his brother[5], as his successor on the throne, and

[3] These *fratres adscripti* had the right of assuming the monkish habit on the approach of death. When Louis le Gros was dying, he desired to be transported to S. Denis, that he might assume the Benedictine habit there; but his strength failing, he caused a carpet to be covered with ashes, in the form of a cross, and himself to be laid on them, and so expired.

[4] He was sent to Rheims, where Innocent was then (1131) holding a council, to be anointed and crowned by him. The ceremony was performed on the 25th of October; Philip died on the 5th.

[5] We subjoin the account of the death of this young prince from Suger's "Life of Louis le Gros:"—

"Two years after this, the prince, then about sixteen years of

Bernard's partizans, forgetful of the long interval that had elapsed, regarded this as the fulfilment of his prophecy.

When the bishops found that their representations were ineffectual, they resolved on using the most extreme measures of the spiritual power against the king; the archbishop of Paris was the first to lay his own diocese under the interdict, and the other bishops united with him to extend it over the whole kingdom. The cessation of public worship, the melancholy aspect of the churches, which were in general closed and stripped of their ornaments, the terrible consequences both at and after death, (according to the representations of the clergy,) of departing without the sacraments of the church, all tended to make the most awful impression on the minds of both princes and people. The former

age, was one day passing on horseback through one of the faux-bourgs of the city of Paris, when all on a sudden an abominable hog ran into the road before the horse; the animal fell heavily to the ground, crushing his noble rider under him against a post. The attendants hastened to raise the tender child, already half dead, and to bear him into an adjoining house. Early in the night he gave up the ghost. On that very day the troops had been summoned for an expedition, and all the assembled warriors, when they heard the sad news, shared the grief of the citizens, heaving sighs and groans of lamentation. The despair of the parents and their friends no man can express in words."

It was in consequence of this accident that an order was issued forbidding pigs in future to be kept in the streets; but the monks of St. Anthony, remonstrating against it, were allowed the exclusive privilege for theirs, on condition of their hanging a bell round the neck of each. The pigs, indeed, made an important item in the revenues of this order. "This year," says Guyot de Provins, a writer of the thirteenth century, "their pigs will bring them in 5,000 silver marks, for there is not a town or castle in France where they are not fed."

might indeed be too barbarous to be susceptible of this impression, or they might have been led by an indistinct intuitive feeling to despise the magical illusion, they must still have dreaded the revolt of the exasperated and terrified people. Lewis, in whom we see the general character of the age, great barbarism of manners, united with the fear of God and of the power of the church; was probably actuated by the first, and this prepared him to give way. But men discovered at last, that at the Romish court, it was not exactly the interests of the church that had the ascendency; the king procured the removal of the interdict through the pope's authority, and then the bishops saw him return to his former arrogance, although he had previously declared himself ready to make restitution. The brief for the removal of the interdict arrived from Rome, at the very moment when Lewis had promised to restore the property of the church; emboldened by this, Lewis not only retained that which he had already appropriated, but proceeded to plunder the bishops still further. Upon this, Bernard complained to the pope, in his own name, and in that of many other persons, availing himself of the ordinary expedient of saving the papal dignity, "that the brief had been obtained *(subreptitia)* by lying and deceit, and that the deceit being now discovered by the pope, the deceivers must know that they had deceived themselves, and not so great a majesty." It is probable that these representations had their effect, and that the pope espoused the cause of the archbishop.

But the court of Rome was not altogether pleased with Bernard's reforming zeal, and the cardinals looked with jealous eyes on the man, by whom princes, bishops, and even papal legates submitted to be guided. (17) The papal chancellor Haimerich had written his friendly

advice, that "he should no longer trouble himself so much with the affairs of the world, since this was unbecoming in a monk[6]." In justifying himself from this imputation, Bernard, though with all possible deference to the apostolic authority, told some harsh truths to the papal court. He wished, he said, that he had not taken any part in these ecclesiastical affairs, and then alluding to the pope's interference in removing the interdict in the case of archbishop Stephen, he added, "I have indeed reason enough to regret my participation in these matters, since it has been the means of showing me the tyranny of the world, armed with apostolical authority to oppress the Church, as if this were not of itself sufficiently formidable." "It is irksome enough," he continued, "and I was engaged in this controversy against my own inclination, and in conformity with the commands of my diocesan, and those of the papal legate, which it was not for me to dispute; if, therefore, a reference to a higher authority would justify me, and that authority [i. e. the pope's] you could easily procure; then at your pleasure the clamorous and troublesome frogs would hide themselves in their lurking-places, and contentedly remain in their marshes,; they would neither be heard in the consistory, nor found in palaces." "But," he concluded, "even if we were to hide ourselves and hold our peace, the murmurs of the Church would still continue while the court of Rome continues to give judgment according to the wishes of those who are present, rather than the rights of those who are absent." Whether or not Bernard was in earnest in this expostulation, we cannot perhaps absolutely determine; but it was altogether impossible for a man of *his ardent spirit and warm sympathies* with all that related to the Church,

[6] Ep. 48 Bernard.

fitted as he was by nature for exerting a powerful influence on the minds of his contemporaries, to withdraw himself from all external activity; indeed, the popes had themselves called him forth from his retirement, for when any great object was to be accomplished, or when their authority and the independence of the Church was to be asserted, they had no organ that could work so effectually on both princes and people as Bernard of Clairvaux.

At this period the spirit of wild warlike enterprise, and that of stern monastic asceticism, stood in distinct contrast to each other, and ever and anon men were seen to recede from the rude career of knightly adventure, into the retirement of the cloister. The crusades had effected an union between the warlike spirit and that of religious enthusiasm, and the men who had taken part in these wars (distinguished so remarkably in their object from all others), naturally enough conceived the idea of separating themselves from all other warriors by a particular mode of life, so as to bring these [*i. e.* the crusades] into harmony with their calling. This idea of dedicating themselves by a solemn vow to the holy war for life, was a very attractive one; and thus the plans of monkish association were formed among the crusaders. In the year 1118, nine men of illustrious descent united for the purpose of keeping the road to the Holy Sepulchre open for pilgrims, and consecrated their lives to this object; taking the vows of chastity, poverty, and obedience, as canons regular, before the patriarch of Jerusalem. From their place of residence, which was the site of Solomon's temple, now occupied by a Christian Church, they were denominated Knights of the Temple (*Milites Templi*). For ten years the association subsisted without the observance of any

fixed rule, and without any great extension of their fame, or any addition to their number. But at the council held for the despatch of other ecclesiastical business, under the presidence of Mathew of Alba, the papal legate at Troyes, in 1128, their order was to receive a more settled form, and a more solemn consecration. The most eminent French prelates, and the presiding abbot of the already important Cistercian order[7] were required to attend; and abbot Bernard received a special summons from the legate, to participate in these affairs. He however excused himself on the plea of recent recovery from a severe illness, which had left him in a state of great exhaustion; he contrasts his position as a monk, with the state of restless employment into which he is impelled by the friends who refuse to listen to his excuses. "O my God," he exclaims, "how is it that Thy judgment should have erred in my case alone, that Thou shouldst have sought to make a monk of *me*, to hide me in the evil days beneath Thy tabernacle; me a man necessary to the world, and without whom bishops are not able to regulate their affairs." But the legate refused to receive his apology, and persuaded him to assist at the deliberations at Troyes. Bernard had great influence in the determination of the form which the new order was to receive from the council, although the rule which has come

[7] In the year 1119 Bernard assisted at the first chapter of the Cistercian order. It was attended by twelve abbots, under the presidence of Stephen, the superior of Citeaux. The rules and regulations then laid down for observance in the monasteries of the order, are contained in a book called "*Livredes Us*," of which, says the Abbé Ratisbonne, "I have seen a copy at the Trappist convent at Oclenberg." The celebrated order of La Trappe was one of the reforms of the Cistercian, effected by M. de Ranée towards the middle of the sixteenth century.

down to us as from this council (19), carries with it undisputed traces of a later origin. His recommendation and influence contributed greatly henceforward to its rapid extension, and at a later period he was earnestly solicited by Hugo-a-Paganis, the first grand-master, to endeavour, by his eloquence, to excite in the knights that spirit, which his own example had failed to arouse. He relied greatly on the effect of this appeal, and it was in consequence of this reiterated invitation, that Bernard wrote his "Commendation of the New Order of Knighthood." (Liber de Laude Novæ Militiæ, Milites Templi.) He begins by remarking those peculiarities of the Temple Order, which rendered it so attractive to the men of those times (20). "This is a new mode of warfare, unheard of in all former ages; an incessant struggle of a twofold kind; against flesh and blood on the one side, and 'spiritual wickedness in high places' on the other; a most marvellous struggle, for both of which the inner and the outward man prepares himself alike with his sword." From hence he takes the opportunity of working on the minds of the knights, so as most effectually to arouse their courage. "They live, they fight, they triumph most gloriously for Christ; and still more gloriously do they die, for Him, the martyr's death. Other wars are stirred up by human passions, for unjust causes; and the soul of the victor is vanquished by the evil one, for he conquers as a murderer, and as a murderer he goes into condemnation; and even the survivor, inasmuch as he had the intention of murder in his heart, is, when he dies, delivered over to eternal death. The case is somewhat different with regard to self-defence, but even then victory is no luck." In accordance with his general principles he then declares, that even the unbelievers may

not be put to death, *excepting where there are no other means of preventing their aggressions, and of restraining them from grievously disturbing the Christians.* He next draws a comparison between the general course of life of other soldiers and that of the Templars. "Ye cover your horses with silken trappings [and gay cloths float over your coats of mail]; ye paint your lances, shields, and saddles; ye adorn your bridles and spurs with gold, silver, and precious stones; and are these the insignia of warriors or of women? Ye yourselves have often experienced that three things are especially necessary to a knight; that he be bold, active, and watchful; light of foot, and prompt to strike. But ye on the contrary, have your hair long, after the fashion of women [to the disgust of the beholders]; your feet are entangled in your long and flowing robes; and your hands buried in the folds of your wide and spreading sleeves." With these he contrasts the Templars. "They eschew chess and dice, and take no delight in hawking; soothsayers, buffoons, vain diversions, and mad frolics they hold in abomination; they cut their hair in remembrance of that saying of the apostle, 'It is a shame for a man to have long hair.' They are never gaily dressed; seldom washed, but choose rather to appear with uncombed hair, foul with dust, and embrowned by exposure to the sun." What Bernard here says of the Templars, is characteristic of his contemporaries in general, who, at the touch of this enthusiasm, abandoned a course of lawless turbulence, passion, and vice, and hastened to join the order, in hopes of atoning for their past sins, by dedicating their future lives to the holy war; and many doubtless were indeed changed in heart, in consequence of this change in their external mode of life. "But," says Bernard, "*the most salutary effect, the*

most auspicious aspect of the whole is, that this vast multitude that is streaming to your gates is, for the most part, composed of criminals, profane persons, and robbers; of the sacrilegious, the perjured, the adulterous, and the murderers; whose *departure hath a twofold advantage*, and is productive of a twofold joy, since their absence is no less desirable to their *friends*, than their *presence* to those whom they come to assist[8]."

But in order fully to develope Bernard's activity in general, and his relations with his contemporaries, we have yet to speak of his connexion with the abbot, whose manifold influence was only second to his own, Peter the Venerable, the president of the important order of Cluniac monks, and to state the circumstances which brought them in contact with each other. The order of Clugni had, like that of Citeaux, originated[9]

[8] The Templars were divided into three distinct classes: the milites, or commanders; the armigeri, or men-at-arms; and the clientes, or servants. They were expressly forbidden to wear any superfluous trappings when ordered out to battle, either on themselves or their horses. Their dress was to be a surtout of white wool. When they assembled at Jerusalem, they made profession of the rule of Benedict to Stephen, patriarch of that city, and were by him invested with the white mantle, their distinguishing garment. In 1146, Pope Eugenius the Third desired that this might be charged with the red-cross, "to designate their readiness to shed their blood in defence of the Christian faith."

Their banner was white, "in token of their candour and ingenuousness;" and it was striped with black, "to show how terrible were the effects of their valour to the enemies of the name of Jesus Christ, the black stripes being symbolical of death."—Hernant, "Histoire des Ordres Militaires et Religieuses," 1587. Their cross had two horizontal bars (‡). Forty years after their institution, when they held their first chapter at Jerusalem, their numbers were six hundred.

[9] In the year 910 by William, duke of Aquitaine.

in a project of conventual reformation, and had at first the tendency to restore the precise and literal observance of the Benedictine rule, in all its primitive austerity. The convent was at first only distinguished for the severity of its discipline, and the frequency of its devotional exercises. The fame of this attracted the reverence and the gifts of the people; a succession of eminent men had presided over the order, whose advice and participation had been solicited by popes and sovereigns in affairs of moment. The benevolent purposes to which they applied their wealth, excited general esteem and affection. But the wealth[1] and power of the order produced their usual results, the relaxation of their original severity of discipline, and the abandonment of that mechanical system of monkish devotion, so wearying to the spirit. The convent richly adorned, had now become the seat of arts and learning, but with these came also their accustomed and pernicious followers—luxury and sensuality. Under the sway of Pontius, a young and worldly minded man, who in the year 1109 was chosen abbot of Clugni, the revenues of the monastery were squandered, and many disorders and abuses inimical to its interests and authority suffered to prevail. The case at last became so notorious, as to reach the ears of pope Calixtus the second, who admonished Pontius of the impropriety of his conduct. In consequence of this, the abbot abdicated his post, and by what seems to have been but a transient repentance, resolved on undertaking the pilgrimage to Jerusalem; for on his return at the expiration of two years, moved by ambition, and regretting the step he had taken, he endeavoured, by violent means, to reinstate himself in

[1] The revenues were 60,000 livres, of which the abbot received 40,000.

the supremacy of the order (21). In the mean while, Peter, a descendant of a noble house in Arragon, had been chosen abbot of Clugni. He was a man of cultivated mind, well acquainted with the ancient classical literature of the Latins, as far as it was possible at that time; his life was such as to command universal respect, his character was frank, gentle, and affectionate; and he was distinguished for the winning courtesy of his manners. Pontius however, whose character was far more suitable to the general inclinations of the monks, than that of Peter, who though far more gentle, was at the same time stricter in all moral and religious requirements, found many partizans, and having forced his way into the convent during the absence of Peter, he seized on the treasures belonging to the monastery, even to the splendid ornaments of the church, the costly crucifixes, and the golden reliquaries, in order to gain the means of strengthening his party. These proceedings led to the greatest confusion in the order, till at length pope Honorius the second interfered, and by his authority put an end to the strife, and in the year 1125 reinstated and confirmed the abbot Peter in his office. But these disorders had left many pernicious results in the condition of the order, which had tended greatly to the prejudice of his authority. At this era the Cistercian order was extending itself widely [2], and to its extension Bernard contributed far more than the presiding abbot.

[2] It may be interesting to the reader to be told that the first Cistercian monastery founded in England, was that of Waverly, near Farnham in Sussex; which was endowed by William Giffard, Bishop of Winchester, in the year 1128. It was granted, with all the estates thereunto belonging, to Sir William Fitz William, in the 28th year of Henry the VIII. Turner, Notitia Monasticum. About the year 1130, Bernard sent over two of his monks to

By their rigid ascetic austerity, and their literal adherence to the Benedictine rule, the Cistercian monks were peculiarly distinguished from the luxurious Cluniacs, and obtained in consequence the greater veneration. The character of humility and poverty, conveyed by the unadorned plainness of their convent and churches [3], presented a remarkable contrast to those of Clugni with their manifold decorations and paintings, and this diversity of character led to a spirit of rivalry between the orders, and which their frequent collisions in their efforts for extension had a further tendency to promote. The men who had sought the seclusion of the cloister, in order that, escaping from the passions and the tumults of earth, and dead to the attractions of the world, they might live to the Spirit, here gave proof that the change of place and external modes of life, were insufficient of themselves to change the heart of man, (Naturam frustra expellas furca, tamen usque recurret). and that it must be something above nature, and there-

instruct those of Fountains Abbey in the Cistercian rule, which they had then first adopted.

[3] Abbot Harding had expressly prohibited the crosses of gold or silver, ordering them to be of painted wood. He had also retrenched the number of chandeliers, allowing one only, and that of iron, as well as the censers. The use of copes, dalmatics, and tunics, he had altogether forbidden, and the chalice alone was to be of silver gilt. The splendour of the chandeliers in some churches seems to have excited peculiar displeasure in Bernard; he speaks of them, with their numerous branches, as resembling trees, and remarkable only for the quantity of metal (sometimes gold and silver) which they contained, and the beauty of the workmanship and jewellery, with which they were adorned, "by which they shine as much as by the lights they carry, and so serve only to impede devotion; exciting rather attention to their magnificence, than to the praise of God," and more apt to inspire vanity, than contempt of the world, and repentance of sin.

fore unattainable by external forms, and unconnected with any peculiar localities, which can alone have power to overcome *nature*. The same vain pride and petty jealousies which agitate the world, were seen to actuate those who had withdrawn from it, and their operation was but the more sensibly felt, from the limited sphere on which they were now exhibited, and from the restraint which had been put on the passions inherent in human nature.

Even in their external appearance the Cistercians were distinguished from their brethren, having exchanged the original black garment of the monks for one of white. This widened the breach, for the rivals could not now meet without immediately recognizing each other. But the superiors of the two orders, Bernard of Clairvaux, and Peter of Clugni, possessed too much elevation of mind, and had formed too just an estimate of the vital character of religion, to suffer themselves to be swayed by these passions, or to become enemies on account of external differences. When at any time they were alienated by contending interests, the gentle and amiable Peter was always ready to make the first advances towards reconciliation, and thus their original friendship was soon restored. They were united in the bonds of mutual esteem and affection [4], and Peter rejoiced in

[4] In one of his epistles to Bernard, Peter says—"I have constantly wished to escape from my charge, that I might be at liberty to live united to you till death; and I should prefer the being thus attached by an indissoluble bond to your holy person, to the possession of a crown, and I would rather pass my life with you than enjoy all the kingdoms of the world; since, to serve you would be agreeable, not only to men but to angels."

In the same spirit of devoted affection, Hildebert, Archbishop of Treves, repaired to Rome to entreat Pope Innocent's permission to resign his mitre, in order that he might live at Clairvaux.

the universal veneration which Bernard attracted: in affairs of moment they were always found to co-operate. They had both expressed their views of the reciprocal relation of the two orders, in several papers drawn up for the purpose of exposing the defects of each, and of clearing the way for a just estimate of existing differences; and in the hope of promoting mutual love and due moderation. Shortly after the disorders occasioned in the order by the affair of Pontius, Bernard was called on by a certain Cluniac abbot, William by name, to clear his own brethren from the reproach of having slandered the Cluniacs, and to make a full exposure of the abuses prevailing among them [5].

The pope, however, refused his consent; which, says Hildebert, "I pray God to forgive him." Bernard's friend, G. Abbot of St. Thierry, to whom he was much attached, having proposed to leave his abbey for the same purpose, Bernard wrote thus to him, "I desire it no less than you do, but reason requires that laying aside both your will and mine, I should advise you agreeably to what I believe to be the will of God. I feel full serenity of conscience in proposing to you this counsel, and you will find peace of mind in following it; Stay where it has pleased God to place you."

[5] It appears that St. Bernard had some grounds of complaint against the monks of Clugni, from their conduct with regard to his own cousin, the young Robert, the son of his mother's sister Diana, who having been at his birth consecrated to God by his parents, he had subsequently been promised by them to the abbey of Clugni. In his childhood, however, he had formed a strong attachment to St. Bernard, and when the latter determined on entering the monastery of Citeaux, the young Robert, though at that time only thirteen years of age, insisted on accompanying him, and in consideration of his devoted affection, obtained leave to reside in the monastery. Two years later, on occasion of the foundation of Clairvaux, the permission to assume the monkish habit was granted to his earnest entreaties. This gave great offence to the monks of Clugni, who, under pretence of Robert's

This gave occasion to Bernard's "Apologia ad Guilielmum Abbatem." He first laid down the

early engagement, procured a decree from the pope, authorizing him to pass from Clairvaux to Clugni. Furnished with this document, and availing themselves of the absence of Bernard, the emissaries of the abbot Pontius gained access to the young monk, and having succeeded in persuading him that he was subjected by Bernard to an unreasonable excess of austerity, they prevailed on him to accompany them to Clugni. The grief of St. Bernard, when, on his return to the monastery, he found that he had been thus robbed of the child of his affection, is represented by his biographer to have been excessive. For the space of a year he ceased not to offer prayers, mingled with sighs and tears, for his restoration. At the end of that time he dictated the celebrated letter, of which we subjoin some of the principal passages:—

"I have waited long enough, my dear son Robert; nay, perhaps too long, in the hope that it might please God to soften your heart and mine; inspiring you with sorrow for your fault, and granting to me the consolation of your repentance. But since my expectation is vain, I can no longer conceal my sadness, or restrain my sorrow. I come then, to ask pardon of him, who ought rather to seek it from me, and, contemned as I have been, to recal him who has insulted me. When we are suffering under any heavy affliction, we cease to deliberate, or to reason with ourselves, we are no longer susceptible of shame, or apprehensive of degradation; we neglect all counsel and rule, all order and measure; all the faculties of the mind are absorbed in seeking how to soften the rigour of suffering, or to recover our lost happiness. You will tell me that you have neither despised nor offended me. Be it so. My object is not to dispute, but to put an end to all disputes, and certainly the blame must rest with the persecutor, not with him who flies from persecution. Let us, then, forget the past; I will not stop to examine into circumstances, I would fain efface the remembrance of them. I will speak only of my own affliction in being deprived of your society; you, for whose sake death itself would be life, and without whom life is but a sort of death. I ask not the reasons of thy departure, I ask only, why thou dost not return. Return, I entreat thee, and all shall be peace; return, and I shall again be happy,

genuine Christian principle, "*that there must* be in the Church *a variety in external forms and modes of life*, in

and sing with joy, 'He was dead, and is alive; he was lost, and is found.' I am content to attribute the blame of your evasion to myself; yea, I used over strictness, I was too severe, I did not make sufficient allowance for the tenderness and delicacy of youth. I might perhaps allege in my justification, the necessity of repressing the exuberance of adolescence with a steady hand, so as to train the novice to virtue by discipliue, as saith the scripture, 'Chasten thy son, and thou shalt deliver his soul.' 'Whom the Lord loveth he chasteneth, and scourgeth every son whom he receiveth.' 'Better are the wounds of a friend, than the kisses of an enemy.' But I repeat; I am willing to bear the blame. Oh my son! consider the means by which I seek to recal you; not by a slavish fear, but by endeavouring to inspire you with a filial love, which will lead you, in confident affection, to throw yourself into the arms of a father. I employ no menaces; I make use of prayers and entreaties alone, to gain your soul and to appease my grief. Others would, perhaps, have adopted a different method, they would have thought to frighten you with the representation of your sin, by the terrors of an avenging God; they would have reproached the horrible apostacy which led you to prefer a costly dress, a luxurious table, an opulent establishment, to your former coarse habit, vegetable fare, and state of poverty. But, knowing you to be more susceptible of love than of fear, I have not thought it convenient to hurry him who is already advancing; to alarm him who already trembles; to confound one who is already overtaken with confusion. And if it be deemed strange that a young and diffident monk should have dared to violate his vows and to quit his monastery, without the consent of his brethren and superiors, is it not far more strange that David should have fallen in spite of his holiness; Solomon notwithstanding his wisdom, and Samson in spite of his strength? Is it surprising that he who could deceive our first parents in paradise, should have had skill to seduce a young man from a frightful desert? Deceived by the specious arguments of certain men in authority, of the wolf, whom in sheep's clothing he knew not, the credulous young monk suffers himself to be conducted to Clugni; 'what,' said his betrayers, 'doth God take pleasure in man's suffering? Doth

order to adapt it to the *various necessities and circumstances of mankind;* but that since the *several members*

Holy Scripture command us to shorten our days, to dig the ground, to fell trees, to weary ourselves? Why did God create meats, if not for our use? why give us bodies, if we may not nourish them? What man in his senses ever hated his own flesh?' And so having inveigled him into their monastery, they caused him to bathe, to be shaved, to have his hair cut, and substituting for his old and worn garments, robes of great price, they receive him into their community, they even give him the precedence over many aged men, and congratulate and applaud him, triumphing as in the spoil of a victory. 'What have they not done to destroy a poor soul, and how was it to resist the influence of such flattering insinuations? What opportunity was there for self-examination, for humble inquiry after truth? I would not intimidate, I would instruct you as a son whom I tenderly love, for though you may have many masters, you can have no other father in Christ than myself; but also I dread lest all that I have attained by my patience, watered by the word, and sustained by my prayers, should be lost and come to nought. It is less the fruitlessness of my labours, than the misery of my son that I deplore; yet can I forget my own bowels. Must I not be a prey to the most cruel agonies when the half of myself is torn from me? Arouse thee, then, soldier of Christ Jesus, shake off thy trammels and return again to the combat, and let the shame of thy defeat be forgotten in the renewed ardour of thy courage. Many are the combatants who persevere unto victory, but the number of those who after having turned their backs on the field, are brought again to renew the fight, is very small. Since then the value of all things is enhanced by rarity, what transport would it cause me to find in thee a courage of which so few are capable. It is Christ Jesus who fights at our head. It is He who says to us, 'Fear not, I have overcome the world;' 'and if God be for us, who shall be against us.' Oh the happiness of the warfare that is undertaken for Jesus and with Jesus. In such a cause neither wounds, nor defeat, nor death itself; nothing indeed, except a shameful flight, can deprive us of victory. Happy, thrice happy he, who falls with his weapons in his hand, he dies but to be crowned; but miserable is that man who turns aside from triumph and from the

were united by the *spirit of love*, these differences could be no cause of schism." He treats of the *ascetic life*, not as having any *inherent merit*, but as an efficacious means of healing the *different disorders* of men, which must therefore necessarily be of different kinds. "Although a man be but a member of *one* order, yet is he united to all through love, and therefore participates in the good of all; yea, even with more security than the labouring members, for it may happen that one may undertake an external work in vain, (for instance, if it be not undertaken in the intention and spirit of love) but a man can never err as long as he truly loves the good." Proceeding from this general principle, he rebukes the pharisaical spirit of the Cistercians, who for the non-observance of certain external precepts of the Benedictine rule, looked down upon the monks of Clugni with profound contempt. "Remember *God's rule*, which cannot be opposed to that of the holy Benedict." "The kingdom of God is within you"—that is, not in meat and raiment, but in the virtue of the inner man.

crown. May God keep you, my son, from such a disaster, and may it please Him to open your heart to my words; otherwise, alas this letter will but increase your condemnation."

We are not aware of the effect which this earnest and affectionate appeal had on the young Robert. The letter was written in 1118, and it was not till 1122 that Bernard had the satisfaction of again embracing his cherished disciple, who was sent back to him by Peter the Venerable, shortly after his entrance on the office of abbot, as successor to the infamous Pontius. His great esteem and friendship for Bernard also led him to send with the fugitive several monks of Clugni, who had desired to enter the convent of Clairvaux.

Robert conducted himself in an exemplary manner for sixty-five years. He was subsequently appointed Abbot of Maison Dieu Besançon. "Vie de S. Bernard." Ratisbonne.

"He who wears not the monk's cowl, will not be looked upon as a monk; and why do ye not seek in like manner after piety and lowliness of mind, which are indeed the raiment of the spirit." Is not humility in sables better than arrogance in a monk's habit (22)? The outward practices enjoined by the rule are not indeed to be neglected, but the hidden man of the soul,—piety, these are the essentials, without which all the rest profiteth nothing." After having thus reproved the pharisaical pride of his own brethren, he proceeds to expose the particular failings of the Cluniacs, and of the monkish orders in general [c]. Their pomp and

[c] It may be interesting to some readers to see a longer extract from this celebrated work, illustrative at once of the spirit of the writer, and of the manners of the age. After having exculpated his brethren from some of the charges brought against them, he thus proceeds: "What would it avail us that our mode of life is austere, our dress simple, our personal labour painful and wearisome, our fastings and watchings continual, if at the same time we indulge a pharisaical vanity in despising others? unless indeed we did our works that we might be seen of men. But the Saviour has declared of such, that they have their reward in this world; and oh! 'if in this life only,' *we* had hope in Christ, we should indeed be of all men most miserable,' as saith St. Paul; yea, truly miserable, if after having taken such pains to be unlike the world, we had but placed ourselves in a situation to receive a smaller recompence; or rather, a more severe punishment than the rest of the world. Surely, we might have found a pleasanter way to hell. Woe, woe to the poor who are proud; to those who bear the cross of Christ, and yet refuse to follow Christ; who, while they participate in His sufferings, are not careful to imitate His humility and they who calumniate their brethren lose sight of His humility; for they rise in their own esteem, and forget charity while they are intent only in abusing others." Then alluding to the disorders that had crept into some of the monastic establishments, he exclaims, "How is it that we see such deplorable excess in diet, such luxury in dress, in the coverings of the

extravagance, their luxury and vanity (23); he denounces the scandalous example offered to them in the

beds, in the equipages, the horses, the structure of the buildings? The greater the excess, the more flourishing is said to be the state of religion. Economy now passes for avarice, sobriety for ill-breeding, and silence for melancholy; and on the contrary, laxity goes by the name of discretion, and profusion by that of liberality; continual talking is considered a proof of civility, and laughter and mockery, of gaiety of heart. Superfluity is called charity, and this suppositious charity saps the foundations of the true. How can that be charity which provides for the flesh and neglects the spirit? or that discretion, which gives all to the body, nothing to the soul. Nay, that is neither charity nor discretion but imprudence, which cherishes the passions and the lusts of the flesh, and labours not after the cultivation of the virtues. Formerly, visits were made for the purposes of mutual edification, and to break the bread of the soul. Now, this celestial food is neither desired nor received. The Scriptures, the salvation of souls, are no longer thought of, and the time is passed in trifling, in laughter, in impertinent discourses. While these frivolities are under discussion, dish succeeds dish, and to compensate for the absence of meat, the tables are covered with monstrous fishes in double rows*, and when you have satisfied yourselves with the first, the second is presented to you, and you no longer remember that you have partaken of the former, for it is the art of the cook to season them in such manner by diversity of sauces adapted to the divers kinds of fish; so that after having devoured five or six platefuls, satiety still leaves appetite undiminished . . . . Then the variety of new ragouts seduces the palate, so that you are ever ready to begin again, as though you had been fasting, and the stomach having no eyes perceives not that it is overloaded, while variety prevents disgust. To speak only of eggs, who can enumerate the various modes of dressing them? They are turned and metamorphosed, and beaten up, and hardened, and minced, and fried, and roasted, and fricasseed, and stuffed . . . . As to water beverage, what *can* I say about it, when the common beverage is wine, not even diluted with it?

* Grandia piscium corpora duplicantur.

conduct of their abbots, and declares that he had seen an abbot with a train of sixty horses, "so that the spectators must have taken him for a sovereign prince rather than a pastor." This led him to reprove the splendour of the decorations and works of art, which were exhibited in the churches and convents of the Cluniacs. What he says is remarkable, as showing that the ideal of a *spiritual* Church, which does not need visible means in order to work upon the *senses*, was present to his imagination;

No sooner do we become monks, than we begin to feel a weakness of stomach, and we certainly do not neglect the apostle's advice, only we forget that he limited his permission to '*a little.*' On festival days, we are not content to take the wine as it is, we must have foreign wines, mixed up with other liquors, and sprinkled with powders which give them a more dainty relish. We spend ourselves in externals, and forsaking the real and eternal advantages of the kingdom of God which is within us, we follow vain amusements, and seek after the shadows of consolation in temporal things, and it is thus that we have lost at once the spirit of our ancient piety, and its exterior forms. For our habits, instead of being marks of humility, might serve as models of splendour and luxury. Our markets scarcely afford stuffs rich enough for our taste. The monk and the soldier divide the same piece of cloth, and the king himself would not be ashamed to be robed in the stuffs which our brethren make choice of now. You will tell me perhaps, that religion is in the heart, and not in the apparel; and this is true, but the Gospel says, that that which appears outwardly, proceedeth from within, and so where the heart is vain, vanity is shown outwardly, and the luxury of the garments is an evidence of the weakness of the mind. We should not take so much trouble to adorn the body, if we were earnestly striving to adorn the soul with heavenly virtues. But what appears to me to be still more remarkable, is, that the abbots with the warnings of Scripture before their eyes, which declare the pastors to be responsible for the sheep, yet tolerate these abuses. If I may venture to speak plainly, it is perhaps because none is willing to censure that in another, which he is conscious of practising himself."

that he regarded the reiterated external worship as the *initiatory medium*, through which rude man, immersed in sensuality, is prepared for the reception of the *Invisible*. This distinction was not indeed at all times clear or present to him, but still it is the foundation of that which he draws between the monkish orders and *the rest of the church*. Let us hear his own words: "I will not stop to censure the disproportional height of your oratories, their costly decorations, or the curious paintings which attract the eyes of those who come to pray, and thus distract their devotions, and which in some degree appear to recal the *ancient ceremonial worship of the Jews*. A certain poet has said, 'What have ye to do with gold in the sanctuary[7]?' and I say [in reference to the sense and not the measure of the verse] tell me, ye *poor* [monks] if indeed ye *be poor*, what have the *saints* to do with gold? There is a difference between *bishops* and monks, for we know indeed that the former, since they are 'debtors both to the wise and unwise,' must excite the devotion of the sensual multitude, who are not to be acted on by spiritual means, through the medium of outward things. But for us, who have separated ourselves from the multitude, and have renounced the beauty and riches of the world for Christ's sake, and have held all that ministers to the delusions of the senses for nought 'that we might win Christ,' whose devotion do we seek to excite by such means? Men are moreover excited rather to gifts than to prayer, by the contemplation of these costly and marvellous vanities; their eyes are feasted and their purses opened by these golden shrines. The fine picture of some saint is exhibited, and the more gaudy the painting, the

[7] Persius, Sat. II. v. 69.

more holy is he esteemed; men crowd to kiss it, and rather marvel at the beauty of the delineation, than think of honouring holiness (22)[8]."

The venerable abbot of Clugni signalized his Christian

[8] The reformation of the celebrated abbey of St. Denis was one of the most important results of this famous apology. Suger the abbot, the prime minister of Louis le Gros, had heard it spoken of with great diversity of opinion, he resolved to read it himself; it carried conviction to his heart, and he immediately set about reforming his monastery, which had long been looked upon rather as a palace of pleasure for the king and his courtiers, than as a retreat of penitence and piety. "The cloisters," says St. Bernard, "are crowded with soldiers, the convent filled with the ministers of intrigue and litigation, the tumult of the world re-echoes on all sides, and even women enter at their pleasure." All this was at once put an end to, and order and discipline were restored, and Suger, whose upright and honest heart was ever open to the voice of truth, addressed the following letter of thanks to Bernard: It is thus inscribed, "Suger, a humble minister of the Blessed Dionysius to the most beloved Lord and venerable Father, Bernard, by the grace of God, Abbot of Clairvaux, sendeth greeting and sincere affection.

"You have visited us, as the day spring from on high visiteth you, by your letters, which in truth are precious gifts, bread of blessing, letters of consolation containing sacred words, abundant in milk and honey, and you have thus afforded to me, a miserable sinner, the greatest consolation in my extremity. If I might but once before my death, behold your angelic countenance, I could depart more safely from this most wretched world, and if I might be spared to live a thousand years or more, I would not desire to remain unless it were well-pleasing to God; for trusting not in works of righteousness, but in His mercy alone, which He always manifests to those who hope in Him, I desire with the whole purpose of my heart to return to Him. I therefore devoutly commend my soul to you, that you may conciliate the Divine favor for it, through the prayers of your congregation." When, in 1153, Bernard heard that Suger was dying, he wrote to him to ask his intercession when in heaven, for his own speedy release.

moderation and gentleness in composing the differences between the rival orders; avoiding all occasions of jealousy and strife, and endeavouring to restore the spirit of Christian love. In one of his letters, written to solicit Bernard's co-operation in effecting this object, he lays down as a principle, the fact of differences with regard to external usages having at all times existed between different churches, without operating to the hindrance of mutual love, since they involved nothing prejudicial either to faith or love. And thus it ought to be with the members of both orders, since both were striving, through the medium of the different practices by which they were severally distinguished, to attain the same object, even eternal life. It was true, indeed, that though both Cistercians and Cluniacs were governed by the same Benedictine rule, they differed in its application, and deviated from the letter of the rule[9]; but since the motive in which all had originated was the first thing to be considered, Christian love as the soul of all actions must decide as to the application of the law. In support of this, he quotes the words of the Saviour, "If thine eye be single, thy whole body is full of light," and the sublime and faithful saying of Augustine, "Habe caritatem, et fac quicquid vis."

He carries this principle still further in a letter written to Bernard, to defend his brethren against the imputations of the Cistercians[9]. In order to justify them from the reproach of having departed from the Benedictine rule, he appeals to the practice of many councils and popes, whereby the old ecclesiastical laws had been modified and altered, so as to adapt them to the circumstances and exigencies of the times. Then, assuming

[9] Epp. Petri Cluniac. I. 28.

his opponent to have answered this by the allegation of greater authority and sanctity; he rejoins that his order also numbered among its members, men who were honoured by the Church as saints; but that the question here was not one of sanctity, but of authority, and that in this respect the authority of the abbots of Clugni was as absolute in their order, as that of bishops in their particular sees, or of popes in the Church at large. In general, however, neither sanctity nor authority sufficed for the justification of these changes, since the holiness and authority of the successors might not be brought into contradiction with the holiness and authority of those whom they had succeeded; either the former practice needed to be changed, or that which has superseded it must be evil. It was requisite then to have a rule[1] by which these changes might be judged, and by which the earlier and later revelations of God and the laws of the Church might, where they differed in the letter, be made to agree in the spirit, and this rule is *love*. Love is free in all her actions, and is occupied in ministering to the welfare of mankind, according to the various wants, and the differing circumstances of divers times; it is for her, therefore, to give and to change laws. The lawgivers of the Church, and the pope, are but the secretaries of this love, for this love is the Holy Ghost, and although her laws may vary, yet in her is "no variableness, nor shadow of turning," for she remaineth ever the same. The Cistercians themselves are the real violators of the rule of Benedict, since they infringe the law of love, by adhering pertinaciously, and to the prejudice of their brethren, to those outward things, which are to be adapted to the different circum-

[1] Germ. Mass-stab, Measuring rod.

circumstances of mankind. (The councils might, indeed, have been called the organs of the Holy Ghost if they had been possessed with this spirit, this idea of a progressive and self-developing Church, for there would then have been no danger of their confounding the mutable with the immutable, human forms with divine revelations, and of fettering the spirit with the letter.)

We proceed to give some further extracts from this letter, on account of the characteristic peculiarities of the imputations cast upon the monks of Clugni, with the grounds on which these are refuted by Peter. "The monks," it was urged against the Cluniacs, "should present the image of an apostolic fellowship; they should have no property, but should live by the labour of their hands; they should not possess parish churches, tithes, or first-fruits, as do the Cluniacs; for these belong of right to the clergy, by whom the churches are served." To this, Peter replies, "Who has the greater right to the oblations of the faithful; the monks who are continually supplicating God for sinners: or the clergy, who, as we see at this time, devote themselves entirely to the eager pursuit of earthly things; to the total neglect of their spiritual calling, and the salvation of souls?" But, an accusation of a still more formidable character was brought against the Cluniacs, that of having indiscriminately received as gifts—castles, townships, peasants, serfs, maidens, tolls, and of having defended themselves in the possession of the same without scruple against all aggressors. To this, Peter replied, "That these possessions were turned to far better account, and the peasants far better treated by the monks, than they had previously been. The manner in which the temporal lords exercise their power over their bond serfs, is a matter of notoriety. Not content with their customary

and bond service, they appropriate to themselves the goods with the persons, and the persons together with the goods; and thus it is, that after having made the usual deductions, they come and plunder these unhappy people three or four times in the year, or as oft as they will; they oppress them with innumerable services, laying upon them heavy burdens, grievous to be borne, so that at last they force them to abandon their native homes, and to seek shelter in a foreign land. And what is still more abominable, they do not scruple to sell the men whom Christ hath made free, and purchased at the cost of His own blood, in exchange for so vile a thing as gold. The monks, on the contrary, only avail themselves of their bond and moderate service, in order to procure the necessaries of life; and instead of vexing them with deductions, they sustain them in poverty, from their own stores; in a word, they treat their vassals as brothers and sisters."

In another letter he writes to Bernard*, "It has long grieved me sore, that men, who to this very hour are in hunger and thirst, in cold and nakedness, labouring with their hands, and in all things following the holy Paul, should yet, while they perform the weightier matters, leave the lighter undone. And thou art one of those. Thou keepest the hard commands of Christ, in fasting, watching, weariness and labour, and yet thou disregardest that easy one, of love." He then calls upon Bernard to exert his influence with the Cistercians so far as at least to induce them to receive their brethren of Clugni into their convents, even although they should persist in the use of the customs and the dress which had first given rise to their divisions, that

* Ep. vii. 14.

so by frequent interchange of good offices, mutual love might be restored. He had himself made this concession fifteen years before, with regard to all the convents of his order, excepting that of Clugni, and he now offered to extend the privilege to that chief convent, if his request were complied with.

NOTES TO CHAPTER I.

(1) It is a peculiar feature in the character of those times, that, while the men were driven about the world by the restless spirit of chivalry, the women devoted themselves, in quiet retirement, to the education of their children, and sowed the first seeds of religion in their tender minds; and this contributed to form the monkish tendency which they afterwards manifested. Thrown into the world by the death of their mothers, they remained there till the first impressions of their youthful days were revived. See, for example, Eâdmer, Vit. Anselm, init. In general, where I do not cite authorities, my sources for this part of Bernard's history have been taken from the first of the biographies given by Mabillon, t. ii. opp. Bernardi, auctore Guilielmo olim S. Theodorici Abbate, tunc monacho Signiacensi, page 1077.

(2) Men, who are seldom capable of distinguishing their own narrow standard, dependent as it is on the notions and contingencies of time, from the eternal standard of that Being who searcheth the secrets of the heart, were wont to ascribe such a wonderful, and, in the sight of Heaven, such a meritorious efficacy to the monkish life, that nobles, princes, and emperors, were in the habit of enrolling themselves as *fratres adscripti* in the most celebrated convents or orders. This entitled them to an interest in the prayers and other meritorious works of the community, and conferred on them the right of assuming the monkish habit at the hour of death, which was supposed to render the dying man more acceptable to his Maker and Judge. The taking the monkish vows was called a second baptism, and Bernard himself explains the meaning of this appellation:— "Unde monastica disciplina meruerit hanc prerogativam, ut secundum baptisma nuncupetur, arbitror ob perfectam mundi

abrenuntiationem ac singularem excellentiam vitæ spiritualis, quæ præminens universis vitæ humanæ generibus, hujus modi conversatio professores et amatores suos angelis similes, dissimiles hominibus facit; et quomodo in baptismate, ita et in sancti hujus secunda quadam regeneratione propositi de tenebris æque non unius originalis; sed multorum actualium delictorum in lumen virtutis evadimus." Now, in the case of many who embraced the conventual life, it is true that it may, instead of producing a practical moral change, have led to a pharisaical assumption originating in inward moral corruption; still, to the wild and licentious, who had been carried headlong onwards by the whirlpool of stormy passions, many who were suddenly arrested in their career by some apparently accidental circumstance, or were excited by some eloquent discourse to consider their ways, this total alteration of their mode of life was a salutary one.

I cannot omit to notice the advantages which accrued to society from the usefulness of these establishments as houses of correction, as was sometimes the case in the middle ages. Criminals condemned to death, were readily released at the intercession of some venerated monk, and consigned to his charge for life. It was indeed a twofold benefit, for, while the unhappy criminals were thus prevented from being further prejudicial to society, they were, by a system of regular discipline, vigilant superintendence, exhortation and meditation, not unfrequently led to reformation of life, as well as trained to a state of usefulness. The following is an instance from the life of Bernard:—"On a certain occasion, as he was going to the Count of Champagne on matters of business, he met a criminal on his way to the place of execution, and, seizing the halter by which the man was led, he proceeded with his prisoner to the count. The latter, who came out to meet with him with all honour and deference, as soon as he heard of his arrival, astonished at this sight, exclaimed, 'Alas! venerable father, what are you about, that you should believe it possible to save one who has already made himself a very devil?' But Bernard replied, 'Think not that I would suffer so great a crime to remain unpunished. You were about to make him taste the pains of death for a moment, but I will crucify him, and keep him in continual chastisement for many years.' The Count did not venture to reply, and Bernard thereupon drew off his cowl, and threw it over the criminal, whom he took with him to Clairvaux, where he lived thirty years."—Vide Herbert de

Miraculis, lib. ii. cap. 15, ap. Mabillon, Opp. Bernard. t. ii. p. 1219.

With reference to the esteem with which the monkish life was regarded, it is worthy our observation, that it was preferred even to pilgrimages to Jerusalem, and to other holy places, as involving the change of the inner man, while pilgrimages were but external acts. A certain Philip, who had resolved on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, came, on his way, to Clairvaux, and being over-persuaded by Bernard, he there remained, and assumed the habit of the order. On this Bernard wrote to the bishop of Philip's diocese:—"When your Philip would have travelled to Jerusalem, he hath discovered a nearer way, and a shorter passage, over the great sea; he hath already, through dextrous seamanship, reached the desired haven; he doth not only contemplate Jerusalem with his bodily eye, but is become a spiritual inhabitant there; not of that earthly Jerusalem which is in bondage with her children, but of that which is free, even our heavenly Mother." 6 Bern. epist. 64. In like manner writes Peter the Venerable, lib. ii. ep. 15 (in Bibl. Patr. Lugd. t. xxii.) to a layman, who, after having taken the monastic vows at Clugni, believed it allowable to dispense with them, in order to go on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem:—"It is far better to devote your whole life, in humility and poverty, to the service of God, than in pride and arrogance to undertake the journey to Jerusalem. If there be any benefit in visiting the place where the feet of the Lord have been, it is of still greater benefit to tread in the way of salvation, so that at last you may see Him face to face."—Cf. Godef. Vindocinens. lib. iii. ep. 24. Yet we find cases in which even zealous advocates of the monkish life dissuaded men from their intention of assuming the monkish habit; for instance, Norbert, the founder of the Præmonstratensian order, who refused to admit Theobald, Count of Champagne, when he applied for admittance to his convent, entreating him to remain in the situation where he was so useful as a defender of the poor and oppressed. Norbert, rigid ascetic as he was, also advised the Count to marry."—Life of Norbert, by a contemporary of the order, in Actis SS. Junii, t. i.

(3) Men were often led, by the force of extraordinary impressions, to forsake the worldly life in which they had previously been immersed, and eagerly, at the moment of their conversion, to embrace the opposite course of life. This was particularly the

case with the celebrated Norbert, who had enjoyed great authority and influence, as a secular priest, at the court of the emperor and the archbishop, Frederick of Cologne, and who there led a life of pleasure, giving himself up entirely to all the pastimes of the court; but one day, as he was following the chase with his servants, he was overtaken by a violent tempest; his horse was struck dead by lightning, and he himself fell senseless to the ground. In this state he remained for an hour, and on coming to his senses, and finding his life thus providentially preserved, he was seized with horror at the consideration of having so narrowly escaped being summoned to the judgment seat of God, while in the midst of his sins. From that time he devoted himself to the reformation of the manners of the times, and became the founder of an order, which was the means of introducing great reforms among the clergy.

[It is remarkable that Luther was also moved to renounce his purpose of following the law, and to embrace the monastic life, by the effect of a thunder-storm, which struck the companion to the ground, deprived of life, with whom he was one day walking in the fields.]

(4) At a later period of his life, Bernard thus writes to a celebrated teacher of the speculative philosophy, Henrich of Murdach (v. Boulai, Hist. Univers. Paris. t. ii. p. 162):—"Take the testimony of mine own experience, and believe me thou wilt find more in woods than in books; and trees and stones shall teach thee that which thou canst not learn from man."

(5) It might be imagined that the place had obtained the name of Claravallis on account of its selection for the site of the convent, as some writers have asserted; but it appears from the researches of Chifflet (Bernardus, Genus illustre assertum, p. 672) that the appellation had been bestowed much earlier, probably from the time of the extirpation of the robbers. Hugo is not to be confounded with Hugo a Paganis, his contemporary and associate in the order, and the first grand master of the Templars. Before the institution of that order, the former had desired to renounce the bonds of wedlock, and, in pursuance of a vow, to devote himself to the war against the infidels at Jerusalem. On this, Ivo de Chartres addressed a letter to him, exhorting him seriously to consider and examine how far his intention, however praiseworthy it might appear in the eyes of men, was likely to be acceptable to God; and whether his vow could be accomplished

without violating that which he had subjected himself to, in conformity to the laws of God; and he declares that it could only be authorized by the free and unbiassed consent of his wife.—Ivo Carnal. ep. 45. It is to the same Hugo that Bernard's ep. 31 is addressed, wherein he congratulates him that from a count he had become a soldier, from a rich man a poor man, if he had been influenced by the genuine *love of God*.

(6) Whatever has been found to excite the veneration of a great number of persons, under all possible variety of circumstances, and in all ages, must needs have had its origin in some deeply-seated principle of our common nature. This is here, *that* truly not *extensive*, but *intensive* power, the recognition of the supernatural, of the power of spirit over matter, so attractive to man when the faculties of his inner being have not been perverted and blunted by education. It is true that the multitude and the leaders of public opinion have often been imposed upon by appearances, and have esteemed those as saints in whom self-denial, humility, and ascetic devotion, were only assumed for effect. Every age has been characterized by its peculiar spirit, and has had its appropriate share of fallacious and seeming virtues, by which mankind in general have been deceived; but specially does every age furnish evidence of the truth of what Luther has somewhere said, that "hypocrisy, as it was the first, so will it be the last weapon wherewith Satan opposes the kingdom of God." An example of seeming virtue here occurs to me, which, as it belongs to the age of Bernard, I adduce.

The magister Gilbert, who, by his philosophical lectures, had acquired great reputation in France, and obtained the name of Universalis, or the All-knowing, was elected, when yet a young man, to the bishopric of London. Unlike the bishops of the great cities in general, who consumed their revenues in pomp and luxury, Gilbert distributed his among the poor, and lived in a retired simplicity. For this Bernard (ep. 24) praises him highly, and exhorts him to end as he had begun. Yet, according to the relation of Henry of Huntingdon, in his letter *De contemptu mundi*, this was but a feint, by which he sought to deceive the world; on entering on his new dignity, for (cap. iii. p. 505) he accuses him of avarice. "Moriens siquidem nihil divisit; sed infinitam thesauri copiam rex Henricus in ejus deliciis invenit. Orcæ etiam episcopi auro et argento refertæ in fiscum regium

allatæ sunt, unde vir scientiæ ab omni populo habitus est pro stultissimo."

I cannot here refrain from speaking also of the remarkable little tract from which this is taken. It was written by Henry, archdeacon of the cathedral church of Lincoln, under circumstances in which men are seldom induced to practise deceit: it was drawn up by him in his old age, in order to benefit himself and his friend Walter (to whom in his youth he had been wont to sing love songs), in setting forth examples, taken from among their own contemporaries, without distinction of rank, of the unhappy end to which worldly greatness had invariably conducted earthly-minded men. "Nec disserendo rhetorice nec tractando philosophica id unde omnis divina pagina detonat, omnia philosophice ingenia desudant; sed loquendo omnino simpliciter, ut de his quæ tu et ego vidimus jam senes contemnere contemptibilia discamus." And, indeed, it is written in a natural and easy style, without any of the rhetorical pomp of the age.

In speaking of the princes of his times, he says:—"Nec mirandum est, si ad eos inspiciendos mulierum vel juvenum turba vel etiam viri levitatis prosiliant, sed etiam sapientia et discretione graves ad eos visendos sæpe vivos nescio qua gratia mulcente impelluntur. Vellem tamen unum ex iis tibi colloqui et mentis suæ secreta funditus revelare, longe aliter judicares, nemo in regno iis par miseriis, nemo par sceleribus, unde dicitur, regia res scelus est." He closed the catalogue of these striking examples with a lamentation over the empty vanity of human life, and an exhortation to his friend to seek a better. "Arise, my brother, arise, and seek that which thou hast neither sought nor found in this life, which; O Thou mighty God, we are wont, and with what perfect truth! to call mortal; for what is this life but a continual death? Let us aspire after the death of this death, since it is only by the death of the body, which is the boundary between this death and the true life, that we can escape from this living death."

As he was writing these words, and so about to conclude his letter, he received the news of the death of him to whom he had thus been writing on the vanity of life; and he now ended with this wish:—"May He, who is our physician after death, vouchsafe to thee the antidote of His love, that so thou mayest attain

to the life of inexhaustible satisfaction." And since he could not now send the letter to his friend, he turned it into an epitaph for him. V. apud d'Achery Spicileg. vet. aliquot scriptt. ed. nov. fol. t. iii.

(7) The wealth of the convents was advantageous to the state, because the monks knew how to make the best use of it. In times of scarcity they often supplied hundreds of the poor with food. On occasion of a great scarcity in Burgundy, the starving peasants flocked in such numbers to Clairvaux, that Bernard, finding he could not hope to afford nourishment to all till the next harvest, selected *two thousand*, whom he distinguished by a particular mark (accepit sub signaculo), and engaged to support entirely, while the rest received some smaller alms. V. Joh. Eremit. vit. Bernard. lib. ii. N. 6. ap. Mabill. t. ii. The monks of the Præmonstratensian abbey founded by Norbert, undertook, in his absence, to supply five hundred poor persons with food during a scarcity. V. vit. Norbert. The clergy, in general, promoted the exercise of benevolence. The highly-esteemed Hugh, bishop of Grenoble, finding his resources inadequate to support the numbers who resorted to him during a famine, sold all his costly church plate, to buy food for them. V. vit. ejus a Guigone descript. in Actis SS. April. t. i. Bernard instructed his friend the Count Theobald, "eleemosynas ea sagacitate disponere, ut semper fructificantes redivivis et renascentibus accessionibus novas semper eleemosynas parturiunt," l. ii. auct. Ernald. cap. viii. N. 52.

(8) The aspect of Bernard, his extreme vivacity, and the fiery energy of his whole manner, produced so powerful an impression upon the minds of men, even of those who only saw him, and heard nothing more than the sound of his voice, that, as it is related in his life, l. iii. c. 3, N. 7, when he preached to the Germans, they were moved to tears by his discourses, without having understood a single word of the language in which they were delivered.

Thus speaks his biographer: — "Quis enim nostrâ ætate, quantumvis robusti corporis et accuratæ valetudinis tanta aliquando fecit, quanta iste fecit et facit moribundus et languidus ad honorem Dei et sanctæ ecclesiæ utilitatem? Quantum postea numerum hominum verbo et exemplo traxit de sæculo, non solum ad conversionem, sed ad perfectionem? Quantas ex iis per totum Christianum orbem constituit domos seu civitates refugii, ut

quicunque peccaverint ad mortem et æterni mortis rei judicati fuerint reminiscantur et convertantur ad Dominum? Quæ schismata ecclesia non sedavit? Quas non confudit hæreses? Quam pacem inter dissidentes ecclesias et populos non restituit? Virtus namque Dei, vehementius in infirmitate ejus refulgens, extunc usque hodie digniorem quodam modo apud homines ei effecit reverentiam et in reverentiâ auctoritatem et in auctoritate obedientiam."

At his death Bernard left more than 160 monasteries behind him which had emanated from Clairvaux, and spread throughout France, Spain, Holland, England, Ireland, Savoy, Germany, Hungary, Denmark, and Sweden. Hence he must frequently have come in contact with the princes and nobles of these countries, as well as with the ecclesiastical functionaries. V. Bernard. Vit. auct. Gaufrid. cap. ii. N. 15, ibique Mabillon. "Jam filiæ domus ipsius," says an earlier biographer, who wrote during Bernard's lifetime, "citra et ultra Alpes et maria deserta plurima impleverunt et quotidie confluunt cum beatos se æstimant reges gentium et præsules ecclesiarum, civitates et regiones quæcunque de domo illa et disciplina viri Dei meruerint contubernium aliquod adipisci."

(9) As a specimen of Bernard's pious meditations, and in evidence of his profoundly-religious spirit, I subjoin the following extract from his epistle to Hugh, prior to the Carthusians, (ep. 11.)

"Love is that eternal, creating, and ruling law, by which all things were made in their appointed measure, number, and weight; and there is nothing without law, for even the law of all things is subject to a law, although indeed it be to its own law, through which, though it did not indeed create, yet it rules the world. But the slaves and hirelings have not received their law from the Lord, but from themselves, while they love more than God that which is not God. Thus have they received a self-imposed law, differing from the law of God, and yet subject to it, since they cannot withdraw it from the unchangeable ordinances of God. That is to say, that every creature hath, by preferring his own will to the eternal and universal law, and by thus striving by crooked ways to imitate the Creator, made a bye-law for himself. Now it was the effect of God's eternal and righteous law that those creatures that would not submit to be governed by God in the enjoyment of holiness, should be overruled by them-

selves to their own punishment; and, as they had voluntarily cast away the light and pleasant yoke of love, so must they perforce and involuntarily bear the heavy burden of their own will. Whereas we are first fleshly, our desires and our love must be brought out of the flesh, and when they have taken the right direction, they shall by the aid of grace, ascending by certain and sure degrees, at last be perfected in the spirit. At first man loves himself for his own sake, but when he becomes conscious that he cannot exist by himself, he begins to seek after and to love God, as necessary to the support of his existence: at this second step man loves God indeed, but it is for his own sake, and not in obedience to the will of God. But when he hath once begun to raise his thoughts to God, to pray to Him, to obey Him, though it be from selfishness, God reveals Himself to him by degrees in this confidential intercourse. He wins His love, and so having tasted the good will of the Lord, man passes to the third step, to love God for God's sake, and on this step he remaineth; for I know not whether any man hath in this life ever reached the fourth step altogether—namely, to love himself only for God's sake. But this shall come to pass when the faithful servants shall have entered into the joy of their Lord; then, satiated with the riches of the house of God, and forgetful of themselves, they shall, in a wonderful manner, be wholly merged in God, and united with Him in one spirit."

(10) Although Bernard was much indebted to this Count, and had still much to expect from his favour, he was never led to the slightest compromise of his principles by this friendship, and steadily refused him every service that was in any way opposed to them. The Count Theobald once besought his intercession with Pope Eugenius, with whom Bernard was all-powerful, to procure some considerable and lucrative benefice for his son Guillaume, then a boy. Bernard refused his mediation, and with affectionate dignity replied thus to the Count (ep. 271):—"It is true that I wish all that is good for our little William, but, above all things, that he may be in favour with God; and therefore I would not have him hold any possession in opposition to the will of God, lest he should thereby lose God." ["Our little William" subsequently filled the important dioceses of Sens and Rheims in succession.]

(11) The revival of learning, the consideration awarded to literature and speculative knowledge, was also, in this respect,

advantageous to the interests of the Church; for, to say the least, it occasioned the elevation of men of more cultivated *mind* to the superior ecclesiastical dignities. The scandal of seeing the holiest calling used as a means of pecuniary emolument, and desecrated by the most incapable of men to the injury of many souls, must have caused the greatest disturbance to those who were the most eminently distinguished for their piety. Hence, as in a Geroch of Reichersberg, originated the enthusiastic longing for the independence of the Church, as may be seen in Geroch's work, De statu ecclesiæ sub Gregorio VII. nonnullisque sequentib. pontificib. ed Gretser. Ingolstad. 1611, c. 10:—"How should not he, who has bought a bishopric for a few hundred marks of silver, set to sale the subordinate spiritual offices that are in his gift, in order to reimburse himself? And will not the abbots and provosts thus instituted be equally venal, and have their price for everything, even for the site and licence of the grave?" The various means by which the rich and noble forced themselves into the spiritual offices, the mean artifices to which the clergy themselves resorted, in order to evade the laws against simony, are described by John of Salisbury, Policrat. l. vii. c. 17, et seqq. He adduces (cap. 19) a pleasant example of one of those tricks played off by an honest man on some of these:—"Several ecclesiastics had agreed with the chancellor Robert, for a certain sum of money, which each had promised to pay for a certain vacant bishopric. When the scandalous contract had been duly concluded with each individual, according to the prescribed forms, each of the purchasers, deeming himself meanwhile already in possession of the mitre, the election was to take place, in accordance with the usual canonical forms, in order to save appearances. The electoral college being assembled, the chancellor publicly announced to the members the terms of each separate contract, informing them, at the same time, that he had acted in accordance with the directions of the bishop. The co-candidates were immediately convicted of simony, pronounced incapable of the office, to which a poor monk was appointed according to law." Notwithstanding the diligent zeal with which the Popes, from the time of Gregory the Seventh, had attacked the influence of the temporal princes in the appointments to ecclesiastical offices, the power of these despots, who were continually reminded by their courtiers that their will was law, and that they were subject to no other, was in no degree circumscribed by these

efforts of the papal court. V. Joh. Salisb. l. vii. cap. 20, where he exhibits the despotic principles of the temporal princes in opposition to the Church. They were told that the laws of the state were to take precedence of all others. "But," replies he, "these only put restraints upon the will of the weak,—they give way before the mighty." (For this very reason the establishment of a power which should be for the upholding and maintenance of right against might,—for the humiliation of the great who set at nought all earthly laws, and for the support and protection of the weak and oppressed,—must have appeared the more hopeful and advantageous to society at large). Men cited the examples of princes who had advanced their favourites to ecclesiastical preferments,—had compelled their metropolitans to consecrate these unworthy candidates, and defied the Romish court. "They who were readiest to execute, and wittiest to describe these abuses, were praised as the most faithful subjects. He, on the contrary, who was found prompt to defend the truth of the faith, the purity of manners, and the laws of God, was called a superstitious bigot, or an enemy to the prince."

(12) Geroch's lively indignation was directed against the so-called irregular clergy, whom, in allusion to their uniting the worldly life of the laity to the spiritual character, he styles hippocentauros, p. 105, et seqq. lib. de corrupto ecclesiæ statu, ap. Baluz. Miscellan. t. v., on the corruptions of the itinerant and hireling clergy, and of those who employed them—*Clericos conductitios et conductores*, p. 208. The deadly evil was irremediable while the people believed that these men, like the regular clergy, had the power of effecting the magical operations of the priesthood, of changing bread and wine into the Body and Blood of Christ, and of offering up the sacrifice for the remission of sins. And, however little they might deserve the reverence of the people from their mode of life, yet, as long as they were regarded as the organs of this magical power, they were the objects of a respectful awe. This it was which involved consequences the most baneful to the cause of religion and morality; for the circumstance of such men being looked upon as mediators and instruments of the Godhead, must have strengthened the persuasion that reconciliation was to be sought in something external, —in something that had no connection with the inward disposition of the heart. Hence pious men, whose souls were disturbed by these abuses, strove to root out this conceit from the minds of

the people; but, in so doing, they might easily come in contact with the Catholic dogma, of the objective efficacy of the sacraments, which was declared to be independent of the fitness of those by whom they were administered. The dispute was thus continued from the era of the first efforts made to put down simony in the Church, at the period of the ecclesiastical reformation effected by the Emperor Henry the Third, to this time. Geroch, who considered simony as the most detestable heresy, and addressed to Bernard his *ep. de Simonia*, (ap. Martene et Durand, Thes. nov. anecdot. v. p. 1459) endeavoured to get out of the difficulty, by adducing the distinction between the active and passive operation of the sacraments; the latter having reference only to externals, as bearers and organs of the miraculous (wunderbar) effects, the former to man himself; and those who received them in their saving efficacy must be joined in love and unity to the true Church: hence it would follow, that, in such persons as had, through the practice of simony, incurred the penalty of excommunication; and in all those who, although aware of their state, continued in communion with them, the sacraments failed to produce these effects.

(13) Geroch wished the inefficacy of the sacraments, when administered by hireling priests, to be generally recognized, in order to keep those priests from imposing on the people, as the magicians at the court of Pharaoh, by lying wonders, and thus attracting veneration to themselves, and practising all kinds of abominations. "Vos," he writes to Bernard in the dedication of his before-cited work, "inter diversas et adversas mundi partes ita vos medios soletis exhibere, ut neque affirmantes neque infirmantes prænotatum sensum adjuvetis, ob hoc forsan, quia vos cum Helia declinando insidias Jezabelis in spelunca silentii super hac quæstione vulds latere, captata vobis ac vestris quadam securitate, quam non possetis habere, si quemadmodum de peccato ac justitia mundum arguitis, ita quoque de judicio cum velletis arguere, astruendo scilicet quod princeps hujus mundi non solum in se ipso, sed etiam in quibusdam membris suis jam judicatus est. Quod cum ita vel sit vel vobis esse videatur, gaudemus quidem de vestra securitate, gaudemus vobis omnes homines esse amicos, etiam ipsos Christianæ religionis inimicos, dummodo vos constat, eorum pravitatibus inimicari, quantumlibet vos sentiatis ab eis amari. Sed multum per omnem modum nos illi exhilarant qui cum Helia non solum latitare;

sed et cum eodem solent in hoc se manifestare, ut sacrificia falsorum prophetarum annihilent et eosdem spiritus gladio jugulent."

This Geroch, whose fearless and disinterested zeal for his principles give him so strong a claim to our esteem and consideration, filled the office of president of the school at Augsburg. It was in this situation that he first incurred the displeasure of his bishop, and subsequently that of the whole state, from the earnestness with which he declared his honest conviction that the Emperor Henry the Fifth was an enemy to the Church. It was Geroch who afterwards brought about the reconciliation of his diocesan with the Pope Calixtus the Second. Shocked by the worldly lives of the clergy of the establishment, Geroch exchanged his productive prebend for a profitless office in the convent of Reitenbach, in Bavaria: he was thence removed, by Bishop Chuno, to preside as presbyter over the parish of Cham; but the zeal with which he supported the cause of the pope, excommunicated Emperor Conrad, drew down on him fresh persecutions, and he was obliged to relinquish his cure. Pope Innocent the Second, whose attention he had excited by his zeal for the hierarchy, and who probably wished to avail himself of his talents, during the divisions that then afflicted the Church, summoned him to Rome. By Innocent, Geroch was, at a later period, commended to the protection of Conrad, archbishop of Salzburg. This prelate, who resembled him in mind and manners, and who throughout his vast diocese, which included a circuit of ten days' journey, tolerated no hireling or dissolute priests, made him provost of the monastery of Reichersberg. V. Chron. Reichersp. collect. et evulgat. per Christ. Gewold. Monach. 1611, ad a. 1169; and here, at the age of 76, Geroch departed this mortal life.

(14) Bernard even took part in the reformation of the rich Parisian abbey of S. Denis. For the dissipated life of the abbot and monks of this monastery, consult Abelard, Hist. calamitat. "Claustrum ipsum monasterii," says Bernard, "frequenter stipari militibus, urgeri negotiis, jurgiis personari;" for it was by Bernard's persuasions that the abbot Suger, subsequently celebrated as a statesman and historian, was first induced to set his monks the example of a more regular mode of life; at least Bernard, in his 78th epistle, congratulates him on the change. He availed himself of Suger's influence to effect the abolition of a practice

equally prejudicial to the honour of the clergy, and the best interests of religion. Stephen de Garlande, a man of no character, who had by some means secured for himself a prebend, had subsequently endeavoured, through the favour of King Philip and the wretched Bertrade, to get nominated to the bishopric of Beauvais. In this he had been hindered by the free and candid representations of Ivo the Good, bishop of Chartres, to the Pope and Cardinals; for Stephen was on the point of setting out to Rome, where he trusted, by means of trickery and bribery, to obtain his election. These practices were indeed so common, that Ivo could write, "Jamdudum illa ecclesia tales consuevit habere pontifices, quibus ipsa damnaretur, non à quibus ad viam vitæ dirigeretur." Later, in the reign of Louis the Sixth, Stephen attained the highest dignities in the court, and gained so great an influence over the mind of the king as to become all-powerful. Although *dapifer* of the king (the same as *senescallus*), which office obliged him to be always about the king's person, and, in case of war, gave him the command of the army, next under the king himself, (vide Du Fresne, ad loc. dapif. et senesc.) he held many benefices, which, according to the ecclesiastical laws, could not be united in one person. (V. Chronic. Mauriniac. ap. Du Chesne, t. iv. p. 367 et 373). Bernard (ep. 78, § 11) represented to Suger the indecorum of this conduct:—"Tell me, then, what outrageous perversion is this, that he, who indeed is neither, must perforce appear at once as a clergyman and a knight. This is equally inconsistent on both sides,—for him, as a deacon, to minister at the royal table, or, as lord marshal, to serve the altar. What monarch hitherto hath not set at the head of his army one of his bravest knights, and not an unwarlike minister of the Church?"

(15) For the sake of those who may be desirous of making themselves acquainted with details, we subjoin the words of Bernard with reference to the luxurious pomp of the age:—"Horreant et mecum rubricatas pelliculas; quas gulas vocant, manibus circumdare sacratis, respuant et appendere pectori, pudeat et collo circumtexere. Jumenta gradiunt onusta gemmis, annuli, catenulæ, tintinnabula et clavatæ (ornamented with gold or purple stripes) corrigiæ multaque alia tam speciosa coloribus quam ponderibus pretiosa mulorum dependent cervicibus."

(16) This assumed humility was a common trick, by means of which those monks, who had made sure of their future spiritual

dignities by purchase, sought to impose upon the people by an appearance of sanctity. Similar declarations may be seen in Joh. Salisb. Policrat. lib. vii. c. 8; and Abelard, Sermo de Joanne Baptista, p. 964, contains a severe animadversion on the beguiling hypocrisy of the monks, who no sooner obtained the episcopal office than they repaid themselves for this affected humility by a more than ordinary degree of splendour.

(17) In addition to the charge of having converted a house of degenerate nuns into a convent of monks, the principal grounds of accusation urged against Bernard at this time, arose out of the following circumstances: "The Empress Matilda, an English princess, had presented to the bishopric of Verdun, the archdeacon Henry, a countryman of her own, and utterly unfitted both by nature and disposition for discharging the duties of any ecclesiastical office. The better sort of people were displeased with his conduct, and a fierce tumult broke out in the city, where Henry strove to maintain himself by force. He was accused at Rome, but having gained over some of the cardinals, he was acquitted. Being accused again before Honorius the II. on account of the indecorum of his life, the pope remitted the decision of the matter to the Cardinal Mathias d' Alba, a man distinguished for the ascetic strictness of his manners, by whom Henry was cited to make his appearance before a synod at Châlons sur Saone; but influenced by Bernard's advice and exhortation, cujus consiliis, says the contemporary chronicler, 'regna et ecclesiæ Galliarum hodieque reguntur,' he anticipated the judicial sentence, and renounced the episcopal dignity." V. Hist. eccles. Virdunens. ap. d'Achery, Spicileg. ed. laudat. pag. 250, t. ii.

(18) "Ego enim," says Bernard in another place of himself, "quædam chimæra mei seculi, nec clericum me gero nec laicum."

(19) V. Mansi, Act. Concil. t. xxi, pag. 353, ubiq. Wilh. Tyr. According to the words of the amanuensis who drew up the rules of the Temple Order, and who styles himself Joh. Michäelensis; these rules were hastily sketched at the council, and then committed to Bernard for his arrangement and emendation, who deputed the amanuensis to perform the office of corrector for him. It is certain that the rule, in the form in which it has come down to us, contains much that must be of later origin; the indication of a great extension of the Order, and the points 3 and 21 f. Mabillon. admonit. ad B. admonit. ad Mil. temp. H. 4. The essentials of the foundation and constitution of the Order may have been,

however, derived from Bernard, and indeed it is this which principally engrosses his pen in his Exhort. milit. temp.

(20) Such was the light in which the knights-templars were generally regarded in that age; and a similar strain of lofty commendation is to be met with in the pages of other writers, as for instance, in Peter of Clugni, l. vi. ep. 26, to the Grand Master Eberhard. But in the latter part of this century they had already, by their appropriation of churches and prebends, exposed themselves to the censure of the wise and judicious Joh. of Salisb. Policrat. l. vii. cap. 21, expresses his astonishment at the forbearance of Pope Adrian, who while he had abolished many other abuses, continued to tolerate this, "Milites templi quomodo sanguinem Christi fidelibus ministrare possunt, quorum fere *professio* est humanum sanguinem fundere. Non equidem quod eos *viros sanguinis* dicam, qui pæne soli inter homines legitima gerunt bella; ut enim in canonibus cautum est, laicis quamvis religiosis nulla de rebus ecclesiasticis legitur attributa facultas, esset utique veræ religionis indicium, si ab illius rei dispositione temperarent, quam sibi domino prohibente tractare non licet."

(21) V. Peter Cluniac. de Miraculis, lib. ii. cap. 12. Cf. Gaufrid. Vosiens. ap. Pagi Critic. ad a. 1125.

There is a trivial variation in the two narratives which it would be quite uninteresting to enlarge upon. See, as to Peter's family and education; the, alas! sadly meagre biography of his disciple Rudolph, in Martene et Durand, Collectio Ampliss. t. i. and Peter, lib. ii. ep. 17. The disposition towards the monastic life was easily imbibed, for all sorts of monks found a favourable reception with his mother, who was thus easily induced, by the persuasions of Abbot Hugo, to devote her son to the cloister. The letter, in which Peter imparts to his brothers his grief at the death of their common mother, bears the lively impress of his filial affection, and of his tender and pious disposition. He begins by justifying a Christian sorrow for departed friends. "When the apostle says, 'sorrow not, even as others which have no hope;' he speaks of the unbelievers, who deem that the soul perishes with the body, and that no recompence (beyond the grave) awaiteth the good; who therefore bewail their beloved, because they despair of any reunion with them; now this unbelieving sorrow must indeed be utterly banished from the hearts of the faithful. Yet our tears flow not from hence, but have their source in the common feelings implanted in our mortal nature.

Our sorrow is no demonstration of the weakness of our faith, but rather of that mutual and kindred love, 'against which there is no law.' It was with tears such as ours that the holy men of the former covenant wept for their near kindred; it was with such sorrow that the mighty Patriarchs mourned over the lifeless bodies of their dear ones. But why do I adduce individual examples? Was it not the custom of all the nations of old, a custom originating in the affections implanted in human nature, to mourn for their departed kindred, and to celebrate their burial with public demonstrations of grief for their loss? Herein we hear a certain venerable harmony, to which the whole human society is found to respond; affording at once a source of comfort to the affectionate in their desolation, and a powerful motive to turn from the disappointments of the earthly, to the certainties of the eternal: for in bewailing the dead, they bewail their own mortality, and pray that through the mercy of Christ they may be delivered from this miserable mortality and exalted to a blessed immortality. If we cast our eyes upon the Gospel, we shall see, that not idly was that word spoken to the Holy Virgin Mother: 'A sword shall pierce through thine own soul,' for indeed the sword could not have pierced her soul, unless by virtue of that sensibility inseparable from human nature, she had been susceptible of unspeakable anguish at beholding the death of God as her son, although at the same time she fully believed that the death of her Son should be the life of the world."

Peter then proceeds to give his brother a description of their mother's mode of life, and from this we extract some peculiar and striking traits. She had long wished to retire from the turmoil of the world, to the consecrated repose of the cloister; but she was withheld from doing so, by her matrimonial engagement, which she considered, under all circumstances, to be absolutely indissoluble. At last, however, she and her husband both agreed, at a certain appointed time, to devote themselves to a conventual life, and in case of outliving the other, the survivor was bound to fulfil their mutual vows. The husband being on his death bed first, while all the assistants were lamenting his condition, the wife kept herself perfectly composed, in order to minister to his spiritual comfort; she exhorted him to examine his conscience, to confess his sins, to bequeath his goods to the poor and to monastic establishments, and caused the sacrament of the Eucharist to be administered to him. After his death she had the body wrapped

in a monk's habit, and then buried with the funeral of a monk, in the precincts of a convent, by the brotherhood. She occupied herself till the following Easter in arranging her affairs, and then paying a last visit to her husband's grave by night, she took leave of him, and proceeded with a great company of distinguished persons, who however knew nothing of her intention, to the abbey of Marcigni, where she had determined to remain. On reaching the monastery, she thus addressed her followers: "From our earliest childhood until the time of grey hairs, the ties of this mortal life have united us, my beloved friends; we have run its course together, and with our eyes have we beheld it. All that this life can promise of alluring and agreeable we have tasted—the fulness of riches, the delights of a numerous progeny, the multitude of pleasures, the honours of the highest nobility; we have exhausted its vanities, and there is nothing left for us to seek among them; see then whether this sufficeth us, we have lived long, and yet it is as though we had not lived at all; nay, this is not capable of supplying our wants, for the more eagerly we enjoy it, the more empty and impoverished doth it leave us. We must therefore, seek some other source, which has in itself a capacity to appease the cravings of our hunger, the raging of our thirst, and the necessities of our poverty, for we are driven to this by the faithless friendship of the world, which yet deceives none but those who place their hopes on it. To borrow an example from my neighbours — in what manner have you, his best friends, recompensed the many kindnesses which you have received from my most generous consort? What prayers have you put up for his eternal repose? Which of the saints have you intreated? What monk's prayers have you requested?" And as her friends were under the necessity of owning that they had done none of these things, she thus concluded her address; "ye are then my teachers, for it were folly indeed to trust farther to man, when my hopes are betrayed even by my best friends."

(22) Bernard thus pourtrays the petty vanity of those men who had retired from the world, without denying the world of iniquity within them, and in whom it was but the more apparent from the limited sphere in which it was now exhibited. "Tu cucullam empturus lustras urbes, fora circuis, percurris nundinas, domos scrutaris negotiatorum, cunctam evertis singulorum supellectilem, ingentes explicas cumulos pannorum, attrectas digitis, admoves

oculis, solis apponis radio, quicquid grossum, quicquid pallidum occurrit, respuis; si quid autem sui puritate ac nitore placuerit, illud mox quantolibet pretio satagis tibi retinere."

[You, when you are about to buy a hood, look through the cities, go round the market-places, run through the shops, search the houses of private individuals, turn over all the household stuff of the traders, unfold huge heaps of cloths, rub them with your fingers, bring them up to your eyes, put them in the sun's rays; whatever is coarse, whatever is faded, you reject; but if anything please you from its purity or brightness, that you are forthwith eager to retain for yourself at any price.]

(23) For the sake of those who are interested in the arts, the pomps, and the progress of the times, I quote the words of Bernard: "Ponuntur in ecclesia gemmatæ non coronæ; sed rotæ circumseptæ lampadibus, sed non minus fulgentes insertis lapidibus; cernimus et pro candelabris arbores quasdam erectas multo æris pondere, miro artificis opere fabricatas, nec magis coruscantes superpositis lucernis quam suis gemmis."

"There are placed in the church not *studded garlands?* but wheels surrounded with lamps, but which shine no less with inserted stones; and for candlesticks we see certain trees erected with great weight of brass, wrought with wonderful labour of the artificer, and glittering not more from the lights that are placed upon them than from their own gems."

He complains besides, that "even the floors were covered with representations of angels and of gaudily decorated saints; that the walls of the convents were adorned, not only with pictures of the saints, but with every conceivable variety of profane paintings; of wild beasts, of fighting champions, hunters with horn in hand, and monstrous devices. Here is so great a variety of strange and cunning pictures, that men rather prefer to read from the marble than from the Holy Scriptures, rather to spend the whole day in admiring these singularities, than in meditating on the law of God. That which belongeth to the poor, now ministers to the eyes of the rich. We may however manage to tolerate it in the Church, since it is the vain and the covetous, not the simple and devout who are the sufferers."

There were other sensible men who complained that the introduction of works of art was injurious to the spiritual and lofty simplicity of the divine worship, that they engaged the senses to the disturbance of the devotion. Thus speaks John of Salisbury,

Policrat. ii. c. 6. (distinguished above his contemporaries by the freedom of his opinions) of the Church and convent music. "It is a profanation of the divine service, that even in the very eyes of the Lord, in the interior of the sanctuary itself, men strive to enervate astonished souls, by the effect of a womanish melody, poured forth by a multitude of licentious voices, to gratify vanity and idle luxury. They who listen to the full and rich modulations of the various parts of the choir would deem it to be the song not of men but of syrens, and would be lost in amazement at the flexibility of the voices. Ea siquidem est ascendendi et descendendi facilitas, ea sectio vel geminatio notularum, ea replicatio articulorum singulorumque consolidatio, sic acuta vel acutissima gravioribus et subgravibus temperantur, ut auribus sui judicii fere subtrahatur auctoritas et animus, quem tanta suavitatis demulsit gratia, auditorum merita examinare non sufficiat." "Yet," continues John, "if men would observe the proper medium, it should calm the soul, banish worldly cares and troubles, and raise the human mind to the participation of a loftier peace and joy, to a more rapturous delight in God, to a fellowship with the angels. But how shall we find this medium? 'My tongue,' saith the Psalmist, 'is transported when I sing unto thee.' And when out of the fulness of the heart, the mouth singeth the praises of the Lord, when thou singest with the soul and spirit, and with the understanding, thou hast then found the right measure, although thou shouldst be altogether without knowledge of the notes of art; then shalt thou penetrate the ears of the Most High, not so much by thy voice, as by the transports of thy spirit." That the reproaches directed by Bernard against the luxury of the monks of Clugni were not exaggerated, we have proof in those which their abbot Peter thought it necessary to address to them himself, l. iv. ep. 25.

(24) Bernard and Peter of Clugni had been at issue about the possession of some tithes, as well as about the election of a Bishop of Langres from one of their respective orders. l. i. Peter. Cluniac. ep. 29, 36, 33. Bernard. ep. 168, 169, 170, 171. "Quantum ad eam caritatem spectat," writes Peter to Bernard, on the renewal of their friendship, after these misunderstandings, "quam vobis in abdito cordis mei jam ab antiquo reservo, videtur quod aquæ multæ, ut scriptum est, non poterunt eam extinguere, nec flumina obruere. Quando enim extingui vel obrui poterit ignitus mei pectoris affectus quibuslibet sinistri rumoris rivulis, cum nec aquæ multæ decimarum potuerint eam extinguere nec

impetus Lingonensis fluminis obruere." Bernard subsequently commends the Abbot Peter with much affection to Pope Eugenius, ep. 277.

(25) Although this might be true of the Cluniac monks, who were generally under the guidance of judicious and pious men, it was not applicable to all monks without distinction. Abelard, Sermo de Joanne Baptista, pag. 952, speaks with disgust of the generality of them, who seeking by any means to enrich themselves, oppressed their vassals far more cruelly than did the temporal feudatories. With regard to the reproach directed against the Cluniacs for deviation from their rule, in the matter of personal labour for their own support, Peter replies, that the object of the rule was to preserve the monks from idleness, that therefore where this object could be attained by other means, manual labour was unnecessary, and spiritual exercises were to be preferred. "Si sane corporalia opera spiritualibus exercitiis præferrentur, nequaquam Maria ad pedes Domini sedere et verba ejus indesinenter audire a cæteris operibus otiosa elegisset, neque Dominus eam optimam partem elegisse dixisset." In the dialog. inter Cluniac. et Cisterciens. l. v. Anecd. Martene et Durand. pag. 1574, the relative position of the two Orders is defined so as to assign to the Cluniacs more of the contemplative, to the Cistercians more of the active character. With the former, reading and prayer were alternate, and they were reproached for addicting themselves to the study of the heathen poets. Literary labours were in great repute at Clugni, and the transcribers of ancient books were there dispensed from the usual obligation of observing the canonical hours. V. pag. 1629, ap. d'Achery.

In one of his letters to Bernard, Peter the Venerable requests that he will return the History of Alexander the Great, and the books of S. Augustin against Julian, if the monks of Clairvaux have finished correcting their copy by that of Clugni, ep. 31.

(26) He often lifted up his voice against the pharisaical spirit of the monks. V. i. iv. ep. 12, where he commends the Carthusians as not being of those "qui liquant culicem et camelum glutiunt, h. e. qui irritum faciunt mandatum Dei propter traditiones hominum, et decimant mentam et dimittunt quæ sunt graviora legis, judicium et misericordiam et fidem, non enim præcipue in cibis et potibus, in vestibus, in laboribus, vel similibus regnum Dei consistere putant."

CHAPTER II.

From the Schism after the Death of Pope Innocent the Second to the Election of Eugenius the Third, 1130—1145. Bernard's exertions for the restoration of peace in the Church. A sketch of his activity during the Pontificate of Innocent the Second.

In a city like Rome, where party spirit, intrigue, and ambition, had so long been enthroned; where avarice, luxury, and poverty, were in perpetual contact; where an unruly population, and an aristocracy of contending families, all alike greedy of power, were continually opposed to each other; it was but natural that the election of a pope should be a scene of confusion and division. The choice of the last pope, Honorius the Second (1), had given rise to a schism which threatened fatal consequences, when his competitor, Cardinal Buccapecu, who had been canonically elected, restored tranquillity by choosing to renounce the first of earthly dignities, rather than expose the Church to the shame and danger of a divided interest; a rare example of self-denial and moderation at Rome. Lambert, Cardinal Bishop of Ostia, who then ascended the papal throne as Honorius the Second, had been elevated to it in a very illegal manner, by means of a popular tumult, excited by the Frangipani family, the most powerful among the Roman nobles, who had long exercised great influence over the papal elections. It was to be expected, that on

the death of Honorius, the smothered flames of party strife would burst forth afresh. The cardinals had indeed agreed among themselves, in order to guard against popular commotions, that they would adhere exactly to the canonical rules for the election of a pope, and, in compliance with ecclesiastical custom, would assemble in the church of St. Mark, and there remain until they had come to an unanimous decision. But, although they were solemnly pledged to this agreement, party strife, by which they were divided, interfered, and prevented the fulfilment of their purpose. One party among them was anxiously striving to secure the election of the Cardinal Petrus Leonis, the grandson of a wealthy Jewish usurer (2), who had rendered great services to the Romish Church, and, on his conversion to the Christian faith, had assumed the name of Leonis from that of his sponsor, Pope Leo the Ninth. The Cardinal Petrus had long aspired to the papacy; and the services of his ancestor, his own active energetic character, his extensive connections, and literary accomplishments, had obtained for him a degree of influence and consideration which swelled the ranks of his adherents, both among the nobles and the people of Rome. A powerful enemy was, however, raised to contest the tiara, through the influence of the Frangipani, and of those cardinals who had sided with the late pope, with the Cardinal Chancellor Haimerich[1] (the principal agent in all the important business transacted at the Romish court, and to whom Leonis was especially hateful) at their head. This was the Cardinal Gregorio, a man admired for his literary attainments, and whose

[1] Haimerich was of a noble Burgundian family; hence probably his close connection with Bernard.

mode of life commanded respect and esteem. If the matter had been left to the issue of a regular canonical election, according to the plighted engagement of the cardinals, the party of Leonis, from its numerical force and power, could scarcely have failed to have borne down all opposition. In order, therefore, the more effectually to beguile their adversaries, they determined to keep the engagement they had, entered into, and at the same time to be beforehand with them. On the very night of Honorius's death, and while it was yet kept a profound secret from the people, they assembled in secret conclave, and elected Gregory pope, by the name of Innocent the Second. They then industriously circulated the report that he had been recommended to their choice by the dying Honorius. The opposite party, naturally enough embittered by this conduct, no sooner heard of the election, than they pronounced it invalid; and, assembling in the church of St. Mark, proceeded to elect the Cardinal Petrus Leonis, who took the name of Anaclet the Second. It was part of the hypocritical etiquette of the age for the two popes to be *forced* to take upon them the *heavy burden* of the government of the Church, although it was well known that they had exerted all their power and influence to obtain possession of it (3). Innocent (4) dissolved into a passion of tears, twice tore off the papal robe, which had been forcibly thrown over his shoulders, and represented to the conclave his utter unworthiness; and it was only by a threat of excommunication, if he persisted in his refusal, and by a vivid portraiture of the state of dependence and confusion to which the Church would be reduced by the ascendancy of Leonis, that he was at last prevailed on to accept the papal dignity.

Anaclet also, in the letter in which he announced his

election to the princes of Europe, complained of being "cast into the raging billows of a stormy sea, and *constrained* to take up a heavy burden when his strength was waxing faint, declaring that he did so only in obedience to the will of Heaven." These elections were speedily followed by scenes of tumult and confusion at Rome. Innocent had at first sought protection against the numerous and powerful party of his rival, in the strong fortress of the Frangipani; but he now no longer considered himself safe even there: he also considered that he should have freer scope for his activity in a country where the bishops and superiors of the widely-extended orders connected with his party, resided; and a greater chance of finally triumphing over his enemies, by leaving them for a while to themselves. He therefore resolved to retire into France, where former popes, when driven from their patrimony, had found an asylum. Having dispatched an embassy to Louis the Sixth, to announce his election and its results, and at the same time to solicit his support, Innocent set out on his journey, accompanied by all the cardinals of his party.

The decision between the rival claims of the respective popes was remitted by King Louis to his bishops, and they accordingly assembled at Etampes for this purpose. Bernard, whose voice had the greatest influence, was invited to attend, both by the king and the bishops. The *irregularity* of Innocent's election was not likely to scandalize any one, for in those days it seldom happened that the canonical laws were strictly observed in the choice of a pope. The question, then, was one of fitness, and Bernard espoused the cause of Innocent, who was distinguished by his superior moral conduct, and his utter aversion to that spirit of intri-

guing ambition of which Anaclet was accused. The assembly, in general predisposed in favour of Innocent, was entirely won over by the fervid eloquence of Bernard, and Innocent was unanimously recognized as the true pope. Even the venerable Peter declared for Innocent, although Anaclet, who had been a monk at Clugni, had earnestly implored the support of his former brethren. Peter sent sixty horses (5) to Innocent, with an invitation to himself and his whole court, and the pope with his suite remained at Clugni for eleven days, a circumstance that contributed greatly to extend his authority and influence in the western Church[2]. King Lewis dispatched an honourable embassy of congratulation, with Abbot Suger at its head, to greet him at Clugni, and advanced himself, followed by his whole family, as far as the monastery of St. Bennet, on the Loire, to do him honour; and there falling at his feet, according to the custom of the age, he vowed obedience to him. Bernard had, in the meantime, undertaken a journey to Normandy, in order to prevail on Henry, King of England, to recognize Innocent as pope. Here, however, he met with some unexpected difficulties; for Henry's mind had been prejudiced against him by the representations of his bishops, who had taken exception at the irregularity of his election. After having

[2] A century later, when Pope Innocent the Fourth visited Clugni, after the first Council of Lyons, accompanied by the two patriarchs of Antioch and Constantinople, twelve cardinals, three archbishops, fifteen bishops, and a great number of abbots, they were all entertained without displacing a single monk, though King Lewis, with his mother Queen Blanche, his brother, the Count d'Artois, the Emperor of Constantinople, the sons of the kings of Arragon and Castile, the duke of Burgundy, and many feudal nobles with their retainers, were there at the same time.

taken some pains to remove this impression, and finding his efforts unavailing, Bernard at length exclaimed, "You dread bringing guilt upon your soul by recognizing Innocent. Well, then, I tell you to think only of how you may answer for your *other* sins in the sight of God, and I will be responsible for *this*." These words touched the king's heart, and he was moved by them to declare himself for Innocent. At least so says the author of an eulogistic life of Bernard; but it is probable that the king had been previously actuated by motives of political interest, urged by the partizans of Anaclet (6), rather than by considerations of religion. It was suggested that Anaclet and his party, having all the revenues and treasures of the papacy in their hands, would not require any pecuniary assistance; whereas it would impose a heavy burden on his dominions, if the king were to espouse the side of Innocent, besides entailing disgrace on him, if the other party were ultimately to prevail. "*There is nothing*," they said, "*more intolerable than subjection to a poor Roman*." Be this as it may, Bernard had the satisfaction of winning over King Henry to the cause of Innocent, and of conducting him to Chartres, where he did homage to the pope.

The imperial crown was at this time disputed by two princes of the ducal houses of Swabia and Saxony, Konrad and Lothaire. The house of Swabia had ever been inimical to the court of Rome, and the deceased pope had recognized the latter, and at the same time fulminated a sentence of excommunication against Konrad. By both Innocent and Anaclet this decision of their predecessor was considered binding, and both applied to Lothaire, as the lawful Emperor and Defender of the Faith, for his assistance, with protestations of

their devotion to his interests. The letter of the Romish nobles is curious (7), as displaying the germs of subsequent disturbances, and the pride of the city, which still, in her own conceit, ruled supreme over the destinies of the world. "If in sooth you would become our Sovereign, and the Sovereign of our clergy,—if you aspire to the Roman fasces and the Roman glory,—you must comply with the Roman laws, and carefully abstain from all that might vex the hearts of the citizens or senators. As yet we have given you no marks of our affection (Konrad had been the favourite in Italy), and have taken no steps to promote your honour and assure your power; but, since we have been made acquainted with the especial and singular love which our late lord the Pope Honorius entertained for your person, we have felt ourselves penetrated with the like anxiety for your interests, and we shall in future treat your majesty with the respect to which you have so just a claim."

In Germany, as well as in France, the most eminent bishops had already declared in favour of Innocent; and the Emperor, therefore, without paying any attention to the letter of his rival, or to that of the Romans, sent an honourable embassy into France, to offer his recognition to the pope, and to invite him into the territories of the empire. Innocent set out at once, accompanied by Bernard, who was always about him, and whose ready eloquence and talents for business were peculiarly useful to him. At Luttich he found Lothaire, who, followed by a numerous and brilliant retinue of nobles and bishops, rode down the principal street in which the cathedral was situated, and there, alighting from his steed, made his way through the crowd to the horse of the pope, and then, taking its bridle in one hand, while with the other he held aloft his staff as

Defender of the Faith, he led Innocent into the sacred edifice. After having received from him these customary marks of honour, the pope solicited Lothaire's protection and assistance,—which the latter showed every disposition to afford; but he availed himself of the opportunity to represent to Innocent the heavy losses which the empire had already sustained in the cause of the Church, dwelling with peculiar emphasis on the critical matter of the investiture, which had already given rise to multiplied disputes between the empire and the Romish see. On this the Roman prelates took alarm, and began to apprehend still greater danger than that by which they had been menaced in Italy; but Bernard interposed, and explained to the Emperor the illegality of his pretensions. Lothaire desisted from making any further demands, and the parties separated in peace and mutual good-will, Lothaire having promised to escort the pope to Rome, at the head of an army, in the following year (8).

Although Innocent's authority was recognized by the most influential bishops and abbots, Anaclet yet numbered many mitred supporters in different districts (9). This occasioned sad confusion in the various churches and abbeys, for, as there were two popes at Rome, so were there bishops and abbots elected by each, devoted to their different lords, and pursuing each other with most unchristian hatred. These disorders (10) had been especially rife in Aquitaine, where Gerard, bishop of Angoul, displeased at being deprived of the office of legate by Innocent, had eagerly espoused the cause of his rival. He took upon him to address a circular letter to the princes and bishops, exhorting them, as a preliminary step, to neutrality, and reproving the precipitation with which they had declared for Innocent. He

then proceeded to state the reasons for and against the legality of each election, placing these in a point of view the most favourable to that of Anaclet. He succeeded in winning over the first nobleman of the province, the Count William of Poitou, who had been so violently indisposed towards Anaclet, that he had even wished to deprive all the bishops devoted to the party of that pope, of their sees. Bernard now endeavoured, by urgent letters to the bishops of Aquitaine, and the neighbouring nobles, to oppose the increasing influence of Gerard. The party of Anaclet had offered to submit to the decision of a general council, but this Innocent refused, alleging, and with propriety (11), (since he considered himself to have been lawfully elected), "that the Church had already determined the matter, and that no farther investigation was necessary."

It would, indeed, have been of no avail; for, as the adherents of both popes were resolved on maintaining their respective pretensions, a council could but have served to prolong the strife,—to influence men's minds still further, or to furnish some such scandalous tragi-comedy as was exhibited during the great schism at the end of the fourteenth and beginning of the fifteenth century. The penetrating sagacity of Bernard is strongly evinced in a letter which he wrote with reference to this proposal:—"The party of Anaclet," he writes, "offers to submit its cause to a judicial examination, either that this proposition being rejected, there may be an appearance of right on its side; or that, if acceded to, time may thus be gained, and in the interim something may happen to their advantage: and since the cause is that of the Church at large, it is requisite that the whole Church should assist at its deliberation; and what place can be selected with security and accommodation ade-

quate to such an assembly? But, even granting that the meeting of so numerous a body were possible, would it not be entirely composed of partizans?—and is it probable that such men should ever come to an unanimous decision? What, then, would be the result of this great assemblage, but the furtherance of strife, instead of the restoration of peace? To whose keeping, I would fain inquire also, think you, that Anaclet would confide the city of Rome, which he must needs be ashamed to give up, after having so long coveted it, and at length with such infinite pains and care obtained possession of it, and then with so great state maintained himself in it? And for what, I ask, should the whole world be brought together, if, though Anaclet might by its sentence be deprived of his dignity, he should yet be able to maintain himself at Rome; for who would think of instituting a process for a thing of which he was beforehand well assured no judicial sentence would ever suffice to put him in possession? This is contrary to all civil and ecclesiastical right."

Innocent, after his return from Luttich, travelled through great part of France; and at length, in the year 1131, arrived at Rheims, in order to hold a council there. It was attended by a great multitude of all ranks, both of the clergy and laity; but King Lewis was absorbed in grief for the death of his son Philip, a lad of fourteen, whose decease was occasioned by a fall from his horse. Innocent, however, invited him to the assembly, and proposed to consecrate and crown his second son Lewis, as his successor. The proposal was accepted, and this ceremonial enhanced the solemnity of the assembly. Bernard was constantly with the pope, and assisted at the deliberations of the cardinals. The oppressed and afflicted sought and obtained his

intercession with the holy father. As the council was also assembled with the view to the restoration of order in the Church, now impaired by the manifold abuses that, in spite of repeated synodal and papal ordinances, had crept into it, he was desired by Innocent to lay its deficiencies, as well as the primary intention of the ecclesiastical establishments, before that assembly in a set speech (12). In this discourse, distinguished by pious zeal and a strict regard to truth, he drew a picture of the corruptions of the spirituality, which must have cut to the very quick many of the most illustrious among his auditors. Shortly after the separation of this council, Innocent set out on his return to Italy, according to his agreement with the Emperor Lothaire, who had promised to escort him to Rome, at the head of his army, in order that he might receive the imperial crown in that city from his hands. Lothaire accordingly made his appearance in Italy in the year 1133, but he was unable to bring with him more than a small force, on account of the considerable party that still adhered to Konrad in Germany. In company with Innocent, he did indeed force his way into the city (13), and was there crowned by him; but his power was insufficient to overpower the adherents of Anaclet, who kept possession of great part of it, and of the fortresses; and he was soon compelled, by his inability to cope with the forces of Anaclet (who had powerful allies in Roger, the Norman king of Sicily, and in the party of Konrad, and by political interests), to quit Italy. He was followed by Innocent, who was averse to the shedding of blood, and whose party was not strong enough to maintain him in Rome. He was hospitably received by the faithful and devoted republic of Pisa, which had formerly afforded him a refuge, and which from its situa-

tion offered equal facilities for the communication with France and Germany, while it was sufficiently powerful to defend him against the assaults of his enemies. Bernard, in the meanwhile, was exerting himself eagerly on his behalf. He had accompanied him on his journey to Rome with the Emperor, and had subsequently returned to his own country, whence he addressed a letter to the Pisans, to encourage them in their fidelity and devotedness. "Quickly, indeed," he writes, "hath your recompence been awarded you for your devotion to the Church of God in the day of her tribulation. Pisa takes the place of Rome, and is chosen before all the cities of the earth for the seat of the apostolic dignity; and this happeneth not by chance, nor by the decree of man, but it hath been ordered by the Divine Providence, and by the favour of God, who spake thus unto Innocent the Anointed:—'Choose Pisa for thy dwelling-place, and I will pour my blessing on that city, and the wickedness of the Sicilian tyrant shall not prevail against her. His menaces shall not shake her stedfastness; neither shall she be seduced by his gifts, nor beguiled by the subtilty of his cunning. O, Pisa! Pisa! thou shalt be envied by all cities, for the sake of the glory shed on thee by the presence of him who is thy father, and the father of Christendom, the primate of the world, the judge of the earth.'" (Ep. 130.)

Many illustrious prelates, out of different countries, came to visit the pope at Pisa, and in the year 1134, he therefore determined on holding a council there, which promised to be more numerously attended than that of Rheims had been. His object was twofold,—the confirmation of his own authority, and the desire of repressing, by new synodal enactments, the various dis-

orders and abuses in the Church, which from all parts were reported to him. True it was that the reforms projected in these synods could but seldom be carried into effect, owing to the cupidity of worldly-minded men; still it was the duty of the popes to aim at enforcing them by repeated decrees, emanating from assemblies over which they presided in person. When Bernard found that Lewis the Sixth, who, for some cause unknown to historians, was displeased with Pope Innocent, had forbidden his bishops to attend the council, he wrote to the king to endeavour to persuade him to retract his prohibition. "Be not wroth," he said, "with the Samuel of thy son," (alluding to Innocent's consecration of the young Lewis); "but if thou dost indeed consider thyself aggrieved in any matter through the severity of the pope, I will faithfully employ my utmost diligence to obtain the revocation or remission of the sentence." His entreaties prevailed, and he himself took an active part in the business of the council. After its termination he still remained some time in Italy, where by his unwearied zeal he contributed greatly towards establishing the authority of Innocent, and restoring peace to the Church in that schism-torn country.

The Milänese had hitherto been one of the strong holds of Anaclet's party. The Church of Milan, glorying in its antiquity and in the institutions of St. Ambrose, had even asserted its independence of the Church of Rome and of all other churches, and by the jealousy with which she guarded her ancient privileges, had often given rise to strife and confusion within her pale. The then archbishop, Anselm of Partesia, had not dared to take the customary oath of homage to Honorius, under whose papacy he was elected, or to receive from

him the Pallium, the emblem of archiepiscopal dominion[3]. While yet involved in a dispute with Honorius on this account, a circumstance occurred which tended still

[3] The pallium is the long scarf or mantle sent from the pope as the sign of investiture to archbishops and patriarchs. It is made of white wool, interspersed with black crosses, and several superstitious ceremonies are observed in the manufacture, according to Durand: "The nuns of St. Agnes offer two white lambs annually on the festival of their patroness, at the altar of their Church. These lambs are received by two canons of the Lateran, and by them delivered to the pope's subdeacons, to be sent to the pastures till shearing time. The wool is preserved for this manufacture. When made, the pallium is taken to the Lateran church, and there placed by the deacons on the high-altar, on the bodies of St. Peter and St. Paul. It is there blessed by the pope, and after a vigil being kept, it is carried away in the night, and delivered to the custody of the subdeacons. And because it was taken from the bodies of the apostles, it denotes the plenitude of ecclesiastical power." The investiture, which was at first only performed at Rome, was a fruitful source of profit to the popes; 26, and even 30,000 florins being demanded as the price of a pallium. The primate elect is not, even after consecration, to assume the title of archbishop or patriarch, till he has received the pallium. This is to be presented on the high-altar of the principal church of the diocese, and after a solemn mass, the patriarch to whom it has been committed, on receiving the oath of fealty to the apostolic see from the metropolitan elect, rises from his faldstool before the altar, and taking the pallium from the cloth in which it had been folded, places it on the shoulders of the elect, who is kneeling before him, and pronounces the words of investiture. On this the metropolitan rises from his knees, and going to the altar, having his cross borne *before* him, (whereas previous to the investiture, it could only be carried after the prelate) the newly-made patriarch solemnly blesses the people. The pallium is only to be worn in churches and at mass, or on high festivals, not in processions or in masses for the dead; and finally (to secure the dominion and the perquisites of the papacy) the pallium was to descend with the patriarch to the tomb. Vide "Pontificale Romanum," 1769.

further to widen the breach. When Konrad, in order to make good his claim to the Imperial throne, advanced on Italy, the people of Milan, regardless of the papal excommunication, received him with enthusiasm, and Anselm, not daring to oppose them, had crowned him emperor. In consequence of this act, Honorius, in a council where the Milanese prelates were present, pronounced sentence of excommunication against the archbishop, upon which his bishops declared against him, and war ensued between Milan and the neighbouring republics. It was during the continuance of these disputes that the schism consequent on the death of Honorius broke out; Anselm and the Milanese, as adherents of Konrad, declaring for Anaclet. But the unfavourable result of the war with the neighbouring states, the general dissatisfaction at the conduct of Anselm, and the great and increasing influence of Bernard, excited in the breasts of the Milanese clergy and people the wish of reconciling themselves with Pope Innocent. Many among them, both of the upper and lower ranks, seized with a passion of veneration for Bernard, and for the ascetic lives of the Cistercians, at once assumed the habit of the Order, and making their public appearance, attracted the esteem and reverence of the people, and had a powerful effect in disposing them in favour of Innocent. This is evident from a circumstance that occurred in Milan at this time. The chief magistrate of the city having appointed a day for hearing and composing the differences between the archbishop and his clergy, a number of men habited in mean woollen garments, and distinguished by a particular tonsure[4], made

4 "Plures pure induti lana rudi, et inculti, et rasi insolita rasura."

their way in a body to the place of assembly. Anselm perceiving that they were regarded by the people as angels sent from heaven, exclaimed aloud, "These men in the grey and white cowls (the peculiar habit of the Cistercians) are all heretics." But their influence with the people was too powerful to be counteracted by Anselm; the Milanese refused any longer to acknowledge him as their metropolitan, and the duties of the primacy were for a while discharged by Riboald, a neighbouring bishop. Bernard being then on his way to the council of Pisa, was requested to come to Milan, that through his mediation the citizens might reconcile themselves with the pope and the emperor Lothaire, and restore peace to the surrounding districts. He wished them joy of their return to the bosom of the Church, but excused himself by alleging the necessity of his attendance at the council. There, however, he undertook to mediate between them, the pope, and the emperor. Riboald and several of the dignified ecclesiastics of Milan appeared at Pisa, as representatives of their Church, and took the oaths to the pope in the archbishop's name; then dreading the displeasure of the haughty Milanese, after having thus compromised the independence of their ancient Church, and knowing that there was no one more capable than Bernard of softening down animosities, they persuaded him to accompany them on their return, associating many eminent prelates with him as mediators, at the desire of the people of Milan. The extraordinary effect produced by his presence, is best described in the words of an eye-witness (Landulfo the younger). "At his nod, all gold and silver ornaments were removed from the Churches, and shut up in chests, as being offensive to the holy abbot; men and women clothed themselves either in hair-cloth, or in the

meanest woollen garments; wine was turned into water; demons were dispossessed and sicknesses healed; the abbot delivered the prisoners of war from their fetters and set them at liberty, and thus confirmed a vast multitude of persons in their allegiance to the Emperor Lothaire, and their obedience to the pope, by the oath which they were obliged to take before him." The fame of his wonderful doings soon spread into the adjacent countries, and from all parts men came to be healed of their diseases, or to see the saint of whom such wonders were related, so that he could by no means escape from the concourse of the people. Wherever he appeared the multitude thronged around his person, and plucked fragments or single hairs from his mantle, to preserve them as precious relics, by which God might be pleased to work miracles. The people of Milan earnestly desired to keep the holy man among them as their metropolitan, and assembling in festival procession, they proceeded, singing hymns and psalms of jubilee, to the church where he resided, and entreated his acceptance of the archiepiscopal office. But Bernard had long since determined on refusing any elevated post in the Church, choosing rather as a simple monk to have the guidance of princes and prelates, than to become either bishop or pope himself. "To-morrow," was his answer, "I will mount my horse, and if it carry me out of your city, I shall conclude that I may not accede to your request; but if, on the other hand, it should refuse to bear me beyond the walls, I will then consent to become your archbishop." Thereupon Bernard took his departure from Milan, and travelled through the adjacent states of Pavia[5] and Cremona, in order to

[5] The letter which Bernard addressed to the bishop of Pavia, who had written to him in terms of the highest eulogy, is one of the many evidences of that spirit of deep and genuine humility

mediate peace between them and Milan, and to negotiate the liberty and restoration of the Milanese prisoners. His efforts in general were attended with success; though some, like the people of Cremona, were too highly exasperated to listen to his exhortations; he then returned to Milan in hopes of perfecting the work he had undertaken. The Milanese had chosen Riboald to supply the place of their late archbishop, and Bernard now obtained for him the papal ratification; but in their jealousy for the ancient privilege of their Church, they refused to allow of his receiving the pallium from the pope, and thus involved themselves in a fresh dispute with Innocent. This was after Bernard had left the city, and he wrote an epistle to induce them to concede the point, in which he dwelt on the kindness with which they had been treated by Innocent, as soon as they returned to their obedience; reminding them of the injuries they had sustained through their former disobedience, and pointing out the still greater detriment they were likely to incur from the renewal of the quarrel. He went on to tell them that they could not exculpate themselves by protesting their readiness to render to the pope all *due* homage, since that included entire submission, they being bound to yield him an unreserved obedience. "Unlimited power," he said, "has been committed to

which was so striking a characteristic of this eminent christian. "The fruit of the good seed which is sown in the good ground belongs to Him Who giveth the seed and fertilizeth the ground, Who causeth the blade to grow and ripeneth the grain. In all that has been done, what can I attribute to myself? Woe be unto me, if I usurp Christ's glory. It is He alone, and not I, who can change the heart. The beauty of a manuscript is not the work of the pen but of the hand that guided it, and all that I can allow is, that my tongue has been 'the pen of a ready writer.'" Ep. 135.

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the apostolic see, over all particular Churches, so that the pope could, if he held it expedient, erect a new bishopric, or convert a bishopric into an archbishopric at his pleasure, and he had full authority to cite the most eminent prelates before him whenever he might deem it advisable[6]." At the same time, Bernard, by his representations to the pope was the means of putting a stop to the violent measures which he was on the point of taking against the archbishop. He threw the blame of Riboald's disobedience on the turbulence of the Milanese, who he said had compelled him *to do violence to his inclinations*, and he entreated Innocent to bear in mind the peculiar circumstances of the case, and not at once to bring to nought the work that had with such infinite pains and labour been established in Milan[7]. After twelvemonths thus spent in endeavours to restore peace and unity to the distracted Church in Italy, Bernard, in the year 1135, set out on his return to France. The news of his coming flew before him, and on his passage over the Alps, he was met by crowds of shepherds and peasants, who came down from their dwellings on the rocks to see him, and returned rejoicing to their rude homes, when they had received his blessing[8].

[6] Ep. 131. [7] Ep. 314.

[8] Bernard's return through the north of Italy, Switzerland, and France, resembled a royal progress; but the homage rendered to dignity of station is not for a moment to be compared with the spontaneous tribute rendered by all ranks of people to the man who was indebted to his Christian virtues alone, for the veneration he had inspired. At the gates of Placentia he was received by the bishop and clergy, who conducted him in solemn procession into their city. At Florence he met with a similar reception. The shepherds of the Alps forsook their flocks to come and ask his benediction. From Besançon he was solemnly escorted to Langres, and at a short distance from that city he found his brethren

Bernard was not allowed to enjoy a life of retirement and contemplation amid his monks for any lengthened

from Clairvaux, who had hastened to meet him on the news of his approach. "They fell on his neck, they embraced his knees, they spoke to him by turns, and full of joyous exultation they accompanied him to Clairvaux," says the Annalist of Citeaux.

It was soon after Bernard's return, that the rebuilding of Clairvaux commenced. The monastery was no longer capable of containing the numbers who flocked to it for admission; a hundred novices, principally from the banks of the Rhine, where Bernard had preached the preceding year, had been recently received, and the original building, placed in the angle formed by two hills, could not be enlarged so as to accommodate them. It was necessary to pull it down and rebuild it entirely. The expense of so vast an undertaking weighed heavily on the mind of Bernard. "Remember," he said to his monks, "remember the labour and cost of our present house, with what infinite pains did we at last succeed in constructing aqueducts to bring water into our offices and workshops; and what would now be said of us if we were to destroy our own work? We should be counted fools, and with reason, since we have no money. Let us not then forget that word of the Gospel, 'that he who would build a tower, must first sit down and calculate the cost.'" To this the brethren replied, "You must either repulse those who are sent to you by God, or you must build lodgings for them; and surely we should be truly miserable, if through fear of the expense we were to oppose any obstacles to the development of God's work." The abbot, touched by these representations, yielded to the general wishes of the community, offerings flowed in from all parts, and the buildings advanced with incredible rapidity. Thibaut, count of Champagne, granted the charter of this second foundation in the year 1135, and with his daughter Matilda, countess of Flanders, and her husband, Philip, who were subsequently buried at Clairvaux, contributed largely to the endowment, as well as Ernengarde, countess of Bretagne. It is described in the deed of enrolment, as "in Banno Morasma quæ vocatur Bellum Pratum." In the hill situate to the west of this valley, was a spring of clear water, which after making its way to the meadows below, lost itself under ground, and at a little distance re-appeared; and it was at this point that

period; the cause of Innocent soon called him forth in France, as it had done in Italy. William the Ninth, sovereign count of Aquitaine and Poitou, who had been gained over to the cause of Anaclet by Gerard, bishop of Angoul, had taken advantage of the schism in the Church, to drive from their sees several exemplary prelates, who were obnoxious to him from having opposed his corrupt inclinations[9], and had supplied their places, without any regard to fitness or capacity, by men of distinguished families, whom he hoped by this means to win over to Anaclet's party. These proceedings necessarily occasioned the greatest confusion in the Church, and the Venerable Peter (14) had in vain sought by his representations to turn the prince from the course he was pursuing. The pious Godfrey, bishop of Chartres, who had been appointed legate of Aquitaine by Innocent, now resolved to undertake a journey to William's court, in order to try every expedient for putting an end to this fatal schism. He took with him Abbot Bernard,

the new monastery was erected. The monks had timber at hand for their buildings, for the forest of Clairvaux is stated to have been 7000 toises in length, and 3000 in breadth, that is, about eight miles long and three broad.

[9] William the Ninth, whose daughter Eleanor successively espoused the kings of France and England, was of the illustrious house of the counts of Poitou, and had been brought up in all the luxurious indulgence of a splendid court; he had early given proofs of the impetuosity and violence of his character. By the death of his father, he became, while yet a youth, master of one of the richest heritages of France. He was equally distinguished for the beauty and the strength of his person, and for his enormous appetite. So great was his passion for war, that when at peace with his neighbours, he compelled his vassals to fight between themselves for his amusement. He is moreover said to have taken his brother's wife by force, and to have kept her three years against her will.

with whose influence over men's minds he was well acquainted. It was no very difficult matter to persuade Count William, a rude and ignorant layman, unskilled in ecclesiastical affairs, and to whom it was a matter of absolute indifference whether the Church were governed by Innocent or Anaclet, to recognize the supremacy of the former, but he persisted in his refusal to re-admit the ejected bishops to their sees, declaring that they had offended him too deeply, and that he had solemnly sworn he would never allow himself to be reconciled with them. After a long time spent in unavailing negotiations, Bernard gave up all hope of vanquishing William's obstinacy in this manner, and repaired to the Church for the purpose of celebrating a high mass. The count, who, as an excommunicated schismatic, did not dare to assist at the ceremony, remained standing outside the door, and Bernard having pronounced the words of consecration over the bread, and given the blessing to the people, made his way through them to the place where he stood, bearing in his hand the paten with the consecrated bread, and then with a stern and menacing countenance, and eyes flashing with indignation, he addressed the prince in these awful words: "Twice already have the servants of the Lord in united conference supplicated you, and you have despised them; lo, now, the Blessed Son of the Virgin. He Who is the Head and the Lord of the Church, which you persecute, appears to you; Behold your Judge, at Whose voice every knee is bowed both in heaven and in earth, the Judge to Whom you must one day surrender your soul; and will you reject Him as you have rejected His servants?" At this, all the spectators wept, and remained in breathless expectation, waiting the result, as though the denunciation would be followed by some sign from

heaven, and it is probable that Bernard himself anticipated such a result. Count William, in the meanwhile, horror-stricken and trembling in every limb, fell suddenly to the ground as if attacked by epilepsy. His soldiers raised him, but he was unable to support himself, and fell prostrate a second time, speechless and senseless. Bernard then drew near, and commanded the prince to rise and receive the commands of God from his mouth. "Here in presence," he said, "is the bishop of Poitiers, whom you have driven from the diocese; go and reconcile yourself with him, and confirm your peace by the holy kiss of Christian love, lead him to his episcopal throne, and exhort all the separatists in your dominions to return to the unity of the Church." William, unable to reply, hastened to the bishop, bestowed on him the kiss of peace, and, to the joy of all his subjects, reinstated him in his former see. Bernard now addressed the count in a friendly manner, and exhorted him to restrain his lawless will henceforward, lest he should again be guilty of disturbing the peace of the Church. From this time William seems to have given himself up entirely to repentance for the sins of his past life, and in accordance with the devotion of the age, he resolved on undertaking a pilgrimage [1]. Bernard having thus succeeded in accomplishing the objects of his mission, returned to Clair-

[1] Before he set out, he made a testamentary disposition of his vast inheritance, by which he committed the guardianship of his daughters to the king, offering Eleanor, with Aquitaine and Poitou for her dower, in marriage to the young Lewis. He intrusted this his last will to the care of the bishop of Poitiers. Some chroniclers have stated that William died at Compostella, while paying his devotions at the shrine of St. Jago, on the Good Friday of the year 1137, but Mezerai states that he fell sick and died on the journey thither, 1136, in the thirty-ninth year of his age.

vaux, where seated in a bower shaded by twining pease-blossoms[2] [which he had caused to be erected in the most secluded part of the valley] he remained in the enjoyment of his elevating contemplations, till he was summoned from his retirement by the affairs of Italy[3].

[2] "Secedens in casulam pisatiis torquibus circumtextam." Vide Mabillon.

[3] In spite of the delicacy of his health, Bernard was in the habit of preaching every day to his monks. His eloquence, according to the statement of his contemporaries, was overpowering. His voice, though weak, was wonderfully flexible and melodious, and its effect was enhanced by a countenance which expressed every emotion of his sensitive heart. It is said that we owe the discourses which have come down to us, to the care of the monks, who wrote them as he delivered them.

It was during this interval of retirement in his "beloved Jerusalem," as Bernard was accustomed to call Clairvaux, that he composed his sermons on the Canticles; in which, says Milner, "we have laid before us the inward soul of a saint of the 12th century, confessing and describing the vicissitudes of spiritual consolation and declension; which, with more or less variety, are known to real Christians in all ages of the Church." They were preached to his brethren at the daily service, and it appears from one of his letters that he was led to make choice of this divine book as the text of his discourses, from his own intimate consciousness of the force of divine love as a motive of action. "For myself," says Bernard, "I serve God freely, because I serve Him from love, and it is to the practice of this love that I exhort you, my beloved and dear children. Serve God with love, with that perfect love which casteth out fear, which feels not the burden of the day, which counts not the cost of the labour, which works not for wages, and which is yet the most powerful motive of action." "We must," he says elsewhere, "regard rather the affections than the expressions in the *Song of Songs*. Love is the speaker throughout, and if any one wish to understand it, it must be by love. He who loveth not, will in vain approach either to hear or to read, for this discourse of fire can never be apprehended by a heart of ice." "This sweet colloquy requireth chaste ears, and in the loving ones

Pope Innocent, in the meanwhile, had been constrained by the success of his opponent, the Norman King Roger, to apply again to the Emperor Lothaire for his assistance. His request was backed by a letter from Bernard[4], urging Lothaire to advance upon Italy with a more powerful army than he had previously headed. "At Rome," he writes, "you obtained the imperial crown in the most glorious manner, and (which

whom it pourtrayeth do not represent to yourselves a man and woman, but the Word and the soul, Jesus Christ and the Church, which is the same thing, except that the Church, instead of one soul, denotes the unity of many." During the rebuilding of the abbey, Bernard lived in a green arbour, which he had erected in the most retired part of the valley, and there it was his wont to meditate on the subjects of his discourses, which were often preached extempore, after being prepared by meditation and prayer. He was interrupted by a second call to Italy, but resumed the subject on his return; and it was soon after this, that he had to deplore the loss of his favourite brother Gerard, the companion of all his journeyings, who died triumphantly in his arms, chanting a psalm of thanksgiving, on the 13th of April, 1139. Like David, Bernard had given way to his grief while Gerard was languishing and dying, but when all was over, he stifled every sign of feeling, and even presided at the funeral rites with an air of the most profound calmness and insensibility, while all around him were dissolved in tears; a circumstance the more remarked by his brethren, because he had ever before wept over every monk whom he had lost, with the tenderness of a mother. But at the accustomed hour, Bernard, who never suffered any circumstances to interrupt the performance of his religious duties, mounted the pulpit as usual, and continued the exposition of the Canticles; but on a sudden he stopped, overcome by his feelings, and almost suffocated by the grief he had repressed; then after a pause he continued, and the tribute he paid to his brother in this unpremeditated funeral oration affords so lively a portrait of his own affectionate character, that we have ventured to give a few extracts from it, which will be found at the end of the volume.

[4] Ep. 139.

enhanced your glory) not by means of an overwhelming force; so that the greatness of your spirit and your confidence shone forth the more conspicuously. If, then, the earth trembled before so small a company, what terror will seize the foe when the monarch shall draw nigh with all the might of his whole host! The twofold necessity which calls for your exertions must needs animate your spirit in the great cause; for well it becometh the Advocate of the Church to stand forward as her defender against the fury of schismatics; and no less doth it become the Emperor to assert the rights of his crown against the Sicilian usurper, for any one who makes himself king in Sicily, rebels against the *Emperor*."

It is hardly probable that the pope had conceded Sicily to Lothaire. Bernard himself contributed greatly towards placing the emperor in a position that enabled him to lead a more numerous army to the pope's assistance, by restoring peace to Germany. Through his mediation at the diet of Bamberg, the princes Konrad and Frederick of Swabia made their peace with Lothaire, and recognized him as emperor. The effect of this reconciliation was the more general support of the German princes, and the consequent advance of Lothaire, in the year 1139, at the head of a powerful force, into Italy, where his arms were every where victorious; and, in the following year, he was again enabled to escort the pope to the apostolic throne in the city of Rome, though Innocent was still obliged to content himself with sharing its possession with his rival. Having formerly derived such great advantages from the influence, eloquence, and activity of Bernard, Innocent expected still more from his services, now that the party of Anaclet was so weakened, and he therefore sum-

moned him, for the third time, to Italy (15). On his arrival in Rome, Bernard, anxious to avoid the shedding of blood, spared no pains to ascertain the position of Anaclet's party, and to sound the minds of his adherents, in order to bring about the peace which he so ardently desired; and the result of his inquiries was favourable to his hopes. The followers of the anti-pope seemed to have lost all confidence, and the greater part were anxiously seeking for an opportunity of making peace by reconciling themselves with Innocent. They were deterred, some by moral, some by political considerations; many who had been advanced by Anaclet to ecclesiastical dignities, were afraid of losing their honours and emoluments, if they deserted him; others, who were numbered among Anaclet's extensive family connections, dreaded to appear faithless in the eyes of the world; and some considered themselves bound by the oath they had taken. The external difficulties Bernard sought to remove by the promise of his good offices with the pope; the conscientious scruples he opposed by arguments, which certainly could only be deemed valid by those who regarded the Church from Bernard's peculiar point of view, and could afford relief to none but such as were willing to give weight to fallacies, in order to deceive themselves, and relieve their burdened consciences. "Obligations contracted in opposition to the law can never by any oath be made binding—the law of God renders them invalid." Having succeeded so well with many individuals of Anaclet's faction, Bernard now resolved to try the effect of his negotiations on Roger, king of Sicily[5], the most powerful of the supporters of

[5] Roger had now returned again into Italy, after indiscriminately recruiting his army in Sicily with Normans, Lombards, and

the anti-pope, against whom the Emperor was at this time advancing at the head of his troops[6]. The two armies were already in sight of each other, and Bernard in the camp of the Sicilian, was still urging him to decline the

Saracens; and, in order to incite their ardour, he had promised them general pillage. His passage was everywhere signalized by horrible cruelties, and the well-known implacability of his character left no room for hope, save in some special interposition of Providence. His wife Alberia, a woman of exalted spirit, and of the most gentle and feminine character, had alone exercised any influence over him, and she had died suddenly some months before. Her death had plunged her husband into a state of such profound dejection, that he had left the command of the army, and retired altogether from the world. This retreat had given rise to a report of his death, on which his enemies had roused themselves, and made sanguinary reprisals; and it was to avenge these, and to prove himself alive, that he had now entered Italy. No town that did not at once open its gates was spared, and it was on a track of blood and ruin that he was marching towards Rome. Ratisbonne.

[6] It was on this journey that Bernard was taken suddenly ill, exhausted by the fatigue and exertion, both personal and mental, which he had undergone. Thinking that he was condemned to end his days at a distance from his children, and in a foreign land, he wrote an affecting farewell, addressed to the several abbots of the Cistercian order. Among other things, he says,— "I implore the Holy Spirit, in whose name you are assembled, to unite you in the bonds of unanimity. I implore Him to touch your hearts with a sense of the sufferings that I am enduring, and to render them susceptible, through the sympathy of a fraternal charity, of the many causes of grief which oppress my soul. It is weakness, the weakness of human nature, which speaks thus; and it is in the flesh that I groan, and desire that God would be pleased to defer calling me to Himself, in order that I may once more return to you, and die among you."

But God, who, to use the expression of Baronius, "would confound the power of this world by means of an infirm and languishing man," granted the prayer of His servant, and Bernard was restored to health.

battle, and listen to terms; but it was in vain. The armies met, and Roger, being totally defeated in the engagement, evinced his willingness to accede to an accommodation. He proposed that an equal number of cardinals of each party should, in his presence, state the grounds of the election of their respective popes, and argue the point before him; and he promised to recognize Innocent's authority, if the arguments adduced in his favour should preponderate. This proposal was accepted, and Bernard appeared among the advocates of Innocent. The most distinguished of Anaclet's adherents was the celebrated Cardinal Pietro, of Pisa, a man equally skilled in the dialectic art, and in ecclesiastic jurisprudence.

In his palace at Salerno, arrayed in his royal robes, and surrounded by his court, King Roger listened to the disputants. Bernard started from the tenets upheld by the narrow-minded Catholicism of the age, "that the way of salvation exists only in an outward and visible Church," and "that this Church is necessarily linked with an external and visible Head:" from whence it naturally resulted that the true Church, and the path of salvation, could be with *one only* of the rival popes. So far both parties were agreed, and each accused the other of bringing division into the *one Church* of Christ, and of seeking to plant another by the side of the *only* true Church. "What!" exclaimed Bernard, "is it possible that the whole eastern Church, with almost all the nations of the west, and all the holy monastic orders, all adherents of Innocent, should have been appointed to damnation, and that King Roger alone should have discovered the true Church and the path of everlasting life?" He then adduced Anaclet's mode of life, and the means which he had used to attain the papacy, as

evidence that it was impossible the *true Church* could be with him. After this he drew near to the Cardinal Pietro, and, grasping him kindly by the hand, they stood together in long and earnest conference, during which Bernard urged him with confident and affectionate exhortations. Whether the cardinal was really convinced by the eloquence of his opponent, or whether, which is more probable (since it was a leading condition, to which Bernard had obtained the pope's assent, that he should retain his rank and all his ecclesiastical preferments), he was governed by interested motives, and professed himself vanquished only to save appearances, he, however, set out for Rome in company with Bernard, and reconciled himself with Innocent[7].

[7] After the extinction of the schism, a council was held at Rome for the restoration of discipline, in which all the cardinals and prelates who had sided with Anaclet were deprived of their dignities. The Cardinal Pietro of Pisa was not excepted from this punishment, although he had been guaranteed by the promise of Bernard, when he consented to abjure his first allegiance. On this the cardinal applied to the abbot of Clairvaux to claim his interference, and Bernard, recognizing the justice of the application, wrote several letters to Innocent in his behalf, but without obtaining any satisfactory reply. He found, indeed, that the pope was rather displeased by his urgency, than disposed by his representations in favour of the cardinal. But in a just cause, Bernard was not a man to be intimidated by a repulse, and, at the risk of incurring Innocent's lasting displeasure, he again addressed him in these remarkable words:—"Who shall execute judgment on yourself? If there were any judge before whom I could cite you, I would not fail to show you what treatment you have deserved at my hands. I know that there is the tribunal of Jesus Christ; but God forbid that I should accuse you before that tribunal, where, on the contrary, I would it were in my power to defend you. It is for this cause that I apply to him who has received a commission to render justice to all men. I appeal

With King Roger Bernard was not so successful, for that prince had trusted that, in proportion to the difficulty of obtaining his adherence, would be the value of the concessions made to him to secure it. He had made several conquests in the patrimony of St. Peter, and these he now expected to receive in settlement as the price of his recognition of Innocent[8]. Bernard remained at Rome till the final extinction of the schism, by the death of Anaclet, in the year 1138. The adherents of the anti-pope had indeed chosen a successor, under the name of Victor the Third; but they had no other object in this than that of prolonging the negociations with Innocent, so as to obtain more advantageous terms for themselves, and Bernard persuaded the newly-elected pope to a voluntary abdication of his dignity. Victor came to him privately by night, and laying aside his papal ornaments, was conducted by Bernard into the presence

from you to yourself*." The effect of Bernard's energetic remonstrances is unnoticed by contemporary historians, but the Cistercian annalist, Manriquez, asserts that the pope yielded to his representations, and reinstated Pietro of Pisa in his dignities.

[8] Roger afterwards renewed his pretensions, and assembling an army, menaced the states of the Church. The pope, alarmed at the rapidity of his progress, raised a hasty levy, and marched in person against the enemy. The two armies joined battle, and by a skilful manœuvre Roger contrived to surround the pope, and to obtain possession of his person. He was conducted to the camp of the Sicilian prince, but Roger, touched with respect and pity for his misfortunes, fell at his feet, and Innocent, moved by his generous behaviour, agreed to a treaty of peace. The battle was on the 22d of July, 1138. The prerogatives accorded by Anaclet formed the basis of the treaty, and Roger consented to receive the investiture from the pope; and it was thus that Sicily was definitively erected into a kingdom.

* Ep. 213.

of Innocent, when he cast himself at his feet. Thus the unity of the Church was once more restored throughout Rome, and this era of divisions and perplexity gave place to one of universal rejoicing. Bernard was regarded by all as the general peace-maker, and honoured and lauded as the father of the country. Wherever he appeared he was followed by vast crowds of men and women, who formed processions in his honour. But it was not Bernard's wont to abandon himself to the gaping wonder of the idle multitude; and now that his work was accomplished, he hastened back to the quiet retirement of his convent[9].

We have yet to refer to some of those slighter traits which characterize Bernard's activity at this epoch of his life, and evince the stedfastness of his friendship,

[9] Before the termination of the dispute with Roger, the emperor Lothaire had fallen sick at Rome. In his extremity he was entirely occupied by the thought of being carried home to die in his native Germany. He reached Trent, but his impatience to see the land of his birth would not allow him to remain there, and he attempted the passage of the Alps; his strength, however, failed, and he expired in the cabin of a shepherd, among the mountains. Konrad of Hohenstauffen was then elected emperor, and was crowned by the pope's legate at Aix-la-Chapelle, 6th March, 1138; but the possession of the imperial throne was disputed by Henry the Haughty, duke of Bavaria, the son-in-law of Lothaire; and it was at the battle of Weinsberg, where the armies of the rival claimants met, in 1140, that the terms of Guelf and Ghibelin are supposed to have been first used as party distinctions; the former being the patronymic of the house of Bavaria, while Giblingen (or Waiblingen, as it is sometimes written) was the name of the castle that had cradled the rising fortunes of the Suabian house. It was after her husband's defeat in this engagement, that the duchess of Bavaria entreated Konrad's permission, for herself and her ladies, to carry out of the city their most valuable possessions, when each appeared at the gate staggering under the weight of her husband. Vid. Heiss, lib. ii. cap. 12.

and that eager zeal for the cause of truth and of ecclesiastical order which led him to assert it even against princes and the pope. His friend the Count Theobald of Champagne had long been aggrieved by the overbearing insolence of the young king, Lewis the Seventh, who, in the wantonness of power, very unwillingly recognized any limits to his authority,—a circumstance which occurred about this time increased the displeasure of the count into open enmity. One of the disputes, by no means uncommon at this era, had arisen in the church of Bourges, in the year 1142, on occasion of the election of an archbishop, one party being favoured by the king, while Haimerich, the papal chancellor, espoused the cause of the other, who was a relation of his own. The king, to whom the rival candidate was perhaps principally obnoxious, because he was *favoured by the Romish court*, took a solemn oath, according to the custom of princes in that age, that he would never admit him to the bishopric. But the relative of Haimerich journeyed to Rome, and there, through the powerful influence of his kinsman, easily obtained the papal consecration—no attention being paid to the king's opposition [1]. "The

[1] Montfaucon's account of this affair is as follows, 1141:—"Une autre affaire s'éleva qui eût de fâcheuses suites. L'Archevêché de Bourges venant à vaquer, le clergé élut*, sans le consentement du roi, Pierre de la Châtre, estimable pour sa piété et sa doctrine. Le roi, qui, pour quelque raison inconnu, ne goûta pas Pierre, fort indigné, refusa son consentement, et empêcha qu'il ne fut installé. Innocent prit le parti de Pierre; et le roi, le défendant encore d'approcher de son diocèse, le pape excommunia Louis et prononça l'anathème sur le royaume de France."

* The election did not take place till after a vacancy of fifteen months.

king," said Innocent, "must be restrained and tamed while he is yet a boy, that he may not interfere in such matters" (16). Still more embittered by this treatment, Lewis positively prohibited the new archbishop from entering his dominions; and it was then that Count Theobald, the steady supporter of the Church, took upon him to receive that prelate into his own government. The archbishop was recognized by most of the churches, and a war between the king and the Count was the result.

At this juncture, and in all probability influenced in taking this step by the quarrel between Lewis and the Count, Rodolph Count of Vermandois, a relation of the former, divorced his wife, who was a niece of Count Theobald, and married Petronilla of Aquitaine, the sister-in-law of Lewis. He found bishops, who, venal, and regardless of duty, were ready to oblige him by dissolving the bond of lawful wedlock without any legitimate cause, and then to unite him to Petronilla; indeed, his money and his connections procured for him defenders even at the court of Rome. As soon as the news of this outrage reached him, Bernard dispatched a letter to the pope, imploring him not to suffer such a violation of the most sacred laws to be countenanced by those who were the appointed guardians of those laws. In compliance with this request, Innocent ordered his legate to lay the dominions of Count Rodolph under the interdict. This only served the more to inflame the king against the Count of Champagne, and he avenged himself by laying waste his territories with fire and

Mezerai calls Pierre de la Châtre "a person of singular piety and learning," and says he wished to withdraw his claims on the archbishopric, but the pope would not allow him. Lewis subsequently consented to receive him.

sword; and in this his hour of trouble the unhappy Count was deserted by his own vassals, who declared that he was too fond of monks to be a good soldier; and his devotion, which had failed to secure for him any aid, was now cast in his teeth with bitter mockery, his faithless subjects bidding him have recourse to his friars and devotees for soldiers and guards. In this extremity, the Count saw no resource but in an accommodation with his enemies: of this one of the conditions was, that he should pledge himself by oath to obtain from the pope the removal of the excommunication and interdict from the Count of Vermandois and his government. His ghostly counsellors had, it seems, represented to Theobald that he might, with a safe conscience, take the oath, since it would be easy for the pope to absolve his rival for the occasion, and to renew the excommunication hereafter. Bernard brought the affair before the pope, and at his desire Rodolph was absolved, and thus Theobald purchased a temporary peace.

Irritated by the conduct of Lewis, but in opposition to the wishes of Bernard, Innocent had now laid the whole kingdom of France under the interdict. The consequences of this violent measure were destructive to the peace of the Gallican Church, and most embarrassing to the bishops, who were compelled either to act in opposition to the commands of the pope, or to submit to the most grievous persecutions. Bernard was now desirous of extending the transient peace, which he had succeeded in procuring for his friend, to the rest of the kingdom; and he entreated the pope, in the most earnest and moving terms, not to bring again upon the Church the miseries of a new schism, while the remembrance of the fatal results of the last, was yet fresh in men's minds. If the king's conduct did not admit of justification,

many extenuating circumstances, such as the custom of the country, (by which it was reputed infamous for a man to cancel even an unjust oath,) his extreme youth, the heat of passion, and the kingly dignity, might be pleaded in his excuse; he therefore implored that he might be treated with indulgence[2] on this occasion. But Bernard was unable to procure the removal of the interdict, though Innocent subsequently showed himself better disposed towards an accommodation; and the good abbot's intercessions were soon rendered nugatory, and he was, in his turn, compelled to bring complaints of the young king's conduct before the pope; for, where the laws of God were concerned, Bernard held himself bound to assert it, without regard to any earthly considerations. The count of Vermandois having persisted in his refusal to take back his lawful wife, Innocent had, at the desire of Bernard, laid the interdict again on his dominions, and pronounced sentence of excommunication against himself[3]. On this Lewis requested Bernard to use his

[2] Ep. 219.

[3] The following is a copy of a sentence of excommunication, taken from some old cathedral records in England:—"May God the Father, Who created man, God the Son, Who suffered for man, and God the Holy Spirit, Who is given in baptism, curse him. May the holy cross, which Christ, triumphing over death, ascended for our salvation,—may the holy Virgin Mary,—may the holy Michael, the conductor of the souls of the blessed,—may all the angels and archangels, and the principalities and powers, and the whole army of Heaven, curse him. May the sacred hosts of patriarchs and prophets,—may John, the precursor of Christ,—may the holy Peter, Paul, Andrew, and all the other apostles of Christ and his disciples, and the four Evangelists, who, by their preaching, have converted the world; may the wonderful troop of martyrs and confessors, who, with their good souls, are pleasing in the sight of God; may all the saints, who, from the beginning of the world even to the end thereof, are found among the beloved

influence in obtaining a revocation of the sentence, representing to him that war must otherwise ensue. Bernard replied, that, while he deeply lamented the misery of such a result, yet that it was not permitted "to do evil that good may come;" and that we must do what is right, and leave the event to God[4]. Exasperated by this, Lewis declared the terms of peace he had agreed to, through Bernard's mediation with the Count of Champagne, to be invalid. (He had, indeed, some reason to do so, for it is clear, that, by concluding the agreement, he had contemplated an absolute, and not a mere formal and temporary removal of the sentence; and that Theobald had thus gained peace by a sophistical subterfuge.) He now wreaked his vengeance on the bishops who sided with Theobald and with the pope; refused to fill up the vacant sees, and allowed their benefices to be plundered by his troops, while he laid waste the province of Champagne with fire and sword. To this outrageous conduct Bernard opposed the strongest remonstrances. He urged the king's ghostly counsellors, the abbot Suger, and Joscelin, bishop of Soissons, to restrain the wild and turbulent excesses of his youthful passions, and he called on the pope to lend his assistance. "All too quickly, and too lightly," wrote Bernard to the king, "have you forsaken your good resolutions; and

of God; may the Heavens and the earth, and all things therein hallowed, curse him. May he be cursed whether he be in the house or in the field, in the wood, in the waters, or in the sanctuary; may he be cursed whether living or dying, whether he be hungry or thirsty, whether he be waking or sleeping, whether he be walking or at rest; may he be cursed within and without, in all the powers and all the parts of the body, in the texture of the limbs; and from the crown of his head to the soles of his feet, may there be no soundness in him."

[4] Ep. 220.

I know not what devilish purpose can have driven you to surrender yourself again to the evil courses of which you had so justly repented. Who, indeed, but the devil can have prompted you to such deeds of blood and fire? And be assured, that the cries of the poor, the sighs of the captives, and the blood of the slaughtered, will reach the ears of Him who is the Father of the fatherless, and the Judge of the widow[5]."

Well was it for the age (well is it for any age, wherein, as in this, such men dare to *lift up their voices, and have power to penetrate through the idolized forms of worldly glory*), that, distinguished from the corrupt and duty-forgetting multitude swayed only by their temporal hopes and fears, there were men who had spirit and strength to confront the mighty in the *storm of their wrath*, and to oppose to those, who dared to *exalt* themselves above all limits *divine* and human, the requisitions of the law of God.

It was not, however, granted to Bernard to bring about the restoration of peace, either civil or ecclesiastical, in his native land, during the lifetime of Innocent[6]. In repeated instances we see the necessity, the influence and the authority of men of universal and spontaneous sympathy, such as Bernard, as checks upon the lawless violence, the arbitrary power, and the endless divisions in all the links of the social chain. The intrusion of noble families into the prebends had been

[5] Ep. 221.

[6] Louis was, however, through Bernard's intercession, so completely reconciled to the Count of Champagne, that, on the death of his second queen, he married the daughter of Thibaut, by whom he had Philip Augustus, his successor on the throne. He was also persuaded by Bernard to receive Pierre de la Châtre as archbishop of Bourges.

highly prejudicial to the interests of the Church; covetous nobles had sought to possess themselves of the archdeaconries, and then rendering themselves independent of the bishops, had abused the sacred office, and practised all manner of exactions. Two highly-deserving men, the one a member of the Church of Orleans (the subdeacon Archembold); the other (the prior of the monastery of St. Victor) at Paris, who had offered strenuous opposition to these intrusions and extortions, were, shortly after this, murdered by the relations of the offended nobles[7]. Bernard lost no time in urging on the bishops and the pope the necessity of taking some decisive steps against the prevalent abuses. He represented to the pope[8], that unless some terrible example were given, the utmost confusion in the Church, and the decay of true religion, must needs ensue. "One of two things," he writes, "must perforce happen; either the great and noble must henceforward be excluded from all

[7] Stephen, bishop of Paris, had provoked the displeasure of the worldly-minded among his clergy by the gradual reforms which he had introduced in his diocese, and his pious designs were constantly thwarted by their factious opposition. But the difficulties with which he had to contend rather stimulated than abated his zeal, and he was moreover assisted in carrying out his plans by the venerable prior of the monastery of St. Victor, named Thomas. This man was therefore peculiarly obnoxious to the malcontents; and Theobald, archdeacon of Paris, whose malversations had more than once drawn down upon him the censures of the prior, meditated vengeance; and on a Sunday, when Thomas was returning from some charitable mission on which he had accompanied the bishop, he was attacked at the gates of Paris by the archdeacon's nephews, armed by their uncle for the occasion, and, pierced by repeated wounds, he died in the arms of the bishop, who had in vain endeavoured to shelter him from the blows of his ferocious assassins.

[8] Ep. 158.

ecclesiastical dignities, or the clergy must have unbounded licence to prostitute the sacred offices; so that in future those who, inflamed with holy zeal, seek to oppose their malpractices, may not be exposed to fall as martyrs beneath the sword of some murderous knight; and what will remain to us of Christian law, Christian order, or the fear of God, when, through the fear of man, no one shall dare to raise his voice against the insolence of the clergy?"

Moved by these and similar representations, which were urged by many influential men, Innocent ordained that ecclesiastical dignities should in future be the reward of *merit* only, and that all persons who had obtained any such, by purchase, by influence, or by armed force, should be deprived of them. Strange that these papal ordinances should have been so often repeated, without producing any general effect.

Bernard did not even spare the pope himself, when he found that, instead of using his supremacy for the purpose of upholding and strengthening the sacred edifice of the Church, he impaired its very foundations, by carelessly allowing covetousness and selfishness to escape the punishment of the law. The archbishop of Treves had complained that the dignity of metropolitan had become a mere empty title, through the favour that was shown at Rome to his young and noble suffragan bishops. Bernard, taking the affair into his own hands, wrote to the pope[9]:—"It is the common opinion of all those who with faithful vigilance watch over their congregations in this country, that all ecclesiastical justice is annihilated, and that the episcopal authority is now held in contempt, since no bishop has any longer the

[9] Ep. 178.

power of avenging offences committed against God, or even of punishing abuses occurring in his own diocese; and it is on you and on the court of Rome that the blame of this is laid, for men say that what *they* have religiously ordered, you have forbidden, and what they have with justice forbidden, *you* have commanded. You receive with open arms the disorderly and litigious of all congregations, even the unruly and expelled members of the monastic establishments, who on their return from your court publicly boast of having found protection where they should rather have found punishment."

BERNARD'S CONTROVERSIES WITH PETER ABELARD AND ARNOLD OF BRESCIA.

The manifold emotions of the newly-awakened mind of man displayed themselves in a variety of different forms in the days of Bernard. After the institutions of Charlemagne had been in great measure overthrown by the stormy convulsions of the ninth and tenth centuries, and when the intellectual powers of the human race seemed to lie buried in a profound slumber, a new and original mental existence began to be developed, which was the more efficient, because it was not a mere *communicated* but an inherent impulse, that evolved itself externally among the nations. Towards the close of the tenth century, certain eminent men, such as Gerbert, appear to have excited in their contemporaries a desire for knowledge, which silently worked its way; for the human mind was on the point of wakening, and the slightest movement was sufficient to arouse it. At a

different era, and among other people, this spontaneous stirring of the intellect had first developed itself in the investigation of nature, the object lying nearest to the senses; and hence these speculations, based on the laws of material nature, and elevating these into a universal standard of judgment, had derived an atheistical tendency, as among the Greeks; but Christianity, which had remodelled the nations, now gave to this impulse an inward direction, for she had given to man a system, which by urging him to the cultivation of self-knowledge, had led him to examine the depths of his own heart and mind.

The writings of Augustine, the most profound of the Fathers, pregnant as they are with the germs of infinite speculations, had a powerful influence on the self-forming philosophy and theology of his times. The leading principle (1) in Augustine's theology (and it was a principle flowing out of the whole course of his temporal and spiritual existence) was, that the truths of religion were not like the objects of human knowledge, which may be attained without any internal moral preparation, by the mere application of the understanding; but that these must first be received by faith, and that it is through the purifying and correcting influence of this spiritual medicine that man must subsequently advance to clearer knowledge. This, then, was the starting point of the new Christian philosophy, which in this century was gradually forming itself; for its first promoter, Anselm of Canterbury [1] was in spirit a disciple of Augustine.

[1] The book called the "Meditations of Augustine" is principally a compilation from the writings of Anselm. Anselm, who was a native of Aosta, in Piedmont, and had received his education under Lanfranc, at the abbey of Bec, in Normandy, succeeded his master in the see of Canterbury. Lanfranc had died

And here two opposite paths present themselves, in either of which the human mind is liable to lose itself. In the first, by bringing down the Immutable and Divine, and placing it on a level with the Subjective and Unearthly; in the second (from the individual conception

in 1089, and William Rufus had usurped the revenues of the see, and declared that no one should ever possess it during his lifetime, but subdued by a fit of sickness, he nominated Anselm. His tyranny and oppression, however, subsequently rose to such a height, that the archbishop, unable to oppose the torrent of his violence, and unwilling to appear to connive at the degradation of the Church, retired to Calabria with two monks, one of whom, Eadmer, wrote his life. He there employed himself in writing a treatise on the Trinity and Incarnation, a work at that time highly useful to the Church, as the genius of Arianism had again awakened, and Rocelin had attacked the fundamental articles of the faith. Anselm could reason logically and well. He may be considered the first of the scholastic divines. Towards the end of his life, he wrote on Predestination and Grace, much in the manner of Augustine. His views of Saving Grace are admirably set forth in a form of "Visitation for the Sick," written by him and published at Venice. The minister was to ask two previous questions. "Dost thou believe that thou deservest damnation? Dost thou intend to lead a new life?" If the sick man answer in the affirmative, the minister proceeded: "Dost thou believe that thou canst be saved only by the death of Christ?" To this, when the invalid had rejoined, "I do so believe," the priest continued, "See that thou trust in nothing else; that thou commit thyself wholly to this death, cover thyself with it, and if God will judge thee, say, 'Lord, I cast the death of our Lord Jesus Christ between myself and thy judgment.' If He shall say to thee, 'Thou art a sinner;' say, 'I place the death of our Lord Jesus Christ between Thee and my sins.' If He shall say to thee, 'Thou hast deserved damnation;' say, 'Lord, I cast the death of our Lord Jesus Christ between Thee and my evil deserts, and I offer His merits for that merit which I ought to have, and have not.'"—Milner's History of the Church, vol. iii. p. 314.

of the Divine, and the reflections arising from this conception, which would result from peculiarities of mental cultivation) by confounding the immutable, and to man incomprehensible Sublime, with that which is subjected to the mutations of human forms.

In the age of Augustine, men were incapable of tracing back the divine doctrines of Christianity to their ethereal source, their historical and spiritual foundation, the basis of all systems of human divinity; they were still less so in the age of Anselm. Christianity was apprehended, as it was delivered and corrupted by man. Its intrinsic character was not indeed defaced by the superaddition of these human forms; although by blocking the passage against the admission of clearer light, the foundations were thus laid for a fabric, in which error was henceforward to be blended with the truth, and a narrow-minded system of polemics was thereby suggested. The faith and blessedness of the true believer are not the result of the outward form, any more than the belief of a man (swayed by philosophical dogmatism) in the inherent truths of human nature, is the result of their demonstrative evidence, although it may appear to him to be so; and thus the vital and spiritual blessings of the Gospel were enjoyed beneath this veil, while Providence was watching over the development of the human mind, and preparing it for the era, when the original should be separated from that, which in the course of time had been superadded to it. Regarding it in this light, it does not appear that the teaching of the Church could in any way come in contact with the spirit of free inquiry. Yet there are some indications (2) that the revival of classical literature in Italy, where it was pursued with the greatest enthusiasm, had tended to excite doubts regarding the Church system.

In France, Berengarius[2], overstepping the boundary line of orthodoxy, was led, by closer investigation, to attack the dogma of Transubstantiation, then becoming predominant, and which Lanfranc defended against him, with the weapons of dialectic argument. One of the dialectic philosophers, Roscelin (3), also involved himself in a dispute with the Church by expounding the dogma of the Trinity according to his own philosophical creed; and the result of these proceedings was to excite a prejudice in the minds of those who adhered to the definitions of the orthodox party, against the *philosophical* examination of the doctrines of Christianity.

Two different parties appear to have been formed among the doctors of the Church at this time; the one, inclined to a contemplative mysticism, and viewing the church system as its basis, dreaded lest this firm basis should be shaken, and the sanctuary profaned, by this spirit of bold, investigating speculation; the other, although without any intention of attacking the church system, wished to discuss and demonstrate it on the principles of reason, applying their own philosophical system to it. Bernard was, as may be gathered from our previous delineation, the representative and principal organ of the first party.

Peter Abelard, a man of a profound and inquiring spirit, was signalizing himself at this time by his theological speculations; he had already acquired great distinction

[2] Berengarius did not confine his attack to this particular doctrine of the papacy, he openly declared the Church of Rome "a Church of malignants, a council of vanity, and the seat of Satan." This opposition, though it did not lay hold of the central truths of the Gospel, yet paved the way for more effective exertions, by informing the world that the court of Rome was neither infallible nor invulnerable.—Milner.

among the philosophers, by the originality of his investigations, but had also made many enemies by his polemics. After the stormy career into which he had been hurled by the violence of his youthful passions (4), he had found a resting place in the Parisian convent of St. Denis, and from thence, following the impulse which destiny had communicated to his life and spirit, he gave to the world his theological speculations. His discourses were peculiarly attractive to the young, who came in crowds to hear him, and he sought to satisfy their eager cravings after knowledge by going back to the first principles of ratiocination in order to prove by them the truth of the revealed doctrines, and to maintain them on these grounds against the objections of those who denied the inspiration of the Holy Scriptures. This mode of discussion he was obliged to defend against the imputations of the theologians of his time, to whom every examination of the doctrines of the faith seemed fraught with peril; and he probably felt himself still further urged to demonstrate the relation of faith to reason, from seeing faith so frequently confounded with superstition and with credulity. "There are many men," says Abelard, "who finding themselves unable to explain the doctrines of religion in an *intelligible* manner, seek consolation for their ignorance by heaping praises on that *enthusiastic* fervid faith which believes without *inquiry*, and which is far more ready to embrace a creed than to try it, or to judge according to its capacity whether it ought to be received. If men are not to subject their faith to the investigations of reason, the consequence will be that they must receive truth and falsehood without distinction. He whose reception of the Divine, is the result of *diligent inquiry*, hath attained to a firm and stedfast faith; and although it be some-

what *human* in its origin, and have in it nothing that is *meritorious*, yet this first step is not therefore unprofitable. After a man hath, through *his own* power, attained to this first step, and cast away his doubts, then comes the love of God, and bestows on man that which he could never have acquired with all his searchings, and which yet was wanting in him. Many unbelievers have, in former times, been convinced by means of miracles. Unreflecting persons are in general apt enough to believe, but their faith is without stedfastness. Human science and knowledge, as the fruit of that intelligence with which God has been pleased to endow mankind, are the gifts of God, and therefore, in some measure, good. God, who makes use of evil to effect good, hath certainly appointed His good gifts to a good use. If the apostle Paul speaks against human wisdom, it is only in reference to the *abuse* of it, and this he would not condemn, if it were incapable of a *good* use. Human learning, it is true, can neither confer innocence nor holiness, nor has it any meritorious efficacy in the sight of God; for these are only to be obtained through faith and the grace of God alone; but yet the mind may thereby be gradually prepared for, and made capable of, receiving the more eminent gifts of wisdom after conversion; for the saints had attained to higher measures of divine knowledge, not so much in consequence of their piety as of their previous studies; and although, with respect to merit in the sight of God, Paul had no advantage over Peter, nor Augustin over Martin, yet as both had, previous to their conversion, been distinguished for their skill in human learning and science, so after it, both attained to a proportionably higher degree of the grace of divine knowledge."

Abelard, however, was far from the conceit that his

philosophy could furnish such an adequate knowledge of Divine things, as should, perfectly and for ever, satisfy all the cravings of human mind. As the theologians of his time justly asserted, that the Trinity of the Godhead was incapable of being apprehended by man in this life, since this apprehension is itself eternal life, Abelard, in order to justify himself, made a distinction between the *credere* and *intelligere* (which belongs to one degree of being[3],) and the *cognoscere*. This last is the experimental knowledge resulting from immediate presence, and this is eternal life; while faith is the assent of the mind to that which is not yet revealed *(existimatio non apparentium.)* He thus prefaced his discussion of the doctrine of the Trinity with this explanation:—"We do by no means promise to teach the truth concerning this doctrine, yea we believe not that any mortal is capable of doing this; and we seek only to advance somewhat that may be at once probable and consistent with human reason, without being in contradiction to holy truth." He acknowledged that the Godhead and its revelations were necessarily too sublime for human comprehension or expression, and that the rules and categories of philosophy could only be applied to created beings. God may, in the precise sense of the word, be called a Being,

[3] Justly, because the very being of our temporal life consists in the opposition of another law, to that image of God, in which the human soul is rooted; and where this circumscribing law shall no longer exist, and the simple Positive alone shall reveal itself, there is eternal life, God all in all, what Holy Scripture calls the seeing "face to face," the coming of "that which is perfect," and opposes to the seeing "through a glass darkly," to the "knowing in part." "Now is our life hidden in God, but when (He) shall appear, we shall be *like* Him, for we shall see Him as He is."—*Neander.*

and this in the true sense can only be said of Him, and of Him it may, perhaps, be predicated that He is the only true Being; God who, viewed by the light of carnal wisdom, *is nothing*, Is *only*, in the true sense of the word. That we can have no absolute knowledge of divine things is plain, from the circumstance of our having no language appropriate to this order of things, our language being only adapted to created objects, and, as the word proves, having reference only to that time which commenced at the creation of the world."

With this we may compare what Abelard, in another discourse, has advanced for the purpose of justifying natural reason against the attacks of the theologians; that the Bible generally addresses man in symbolical language:—"God is frequently pleased to represent Himself to His creatures rather through the medium of nature, than through that of *their* fictitious or supposititious terminology" (5). Yet the recognition of God is necessarily bound up with the very being of reason. "When we consider the essence of reason, and see that its peculiar nature is to soar above all the objects of sense, and to search after that which is beyond the reach of the senses, it must of course follow that the more sublime the nature of any object, and the farther it is from the limits of the senses, the more intensely will the efforts of reason be directed towards it: and especially if man, on account of his distinguishing reason, be likened to the image of God, he will, of course, prefer to direct that reason first towards Him, whose image he is by it enabled to produce." In the discussion of the Divine Essence (6), Abelard set out from the doctrine of the Trinity as the perfection of the Supreme Being, as the exhaustion of the idea of the Supreme Good, and therefore grounded with the image of God, in the very essence

of reason, although man might possibly be unconscious that it was so. His illustration of the doctrine of the Trinity was by no means new in its basis; it was, in fact, the very same which we find in all the illustrations of this dogma, from the time of the council of Nicea,—that thereby the relations of being, knowing, and willing, of power, wisdom, and love, in the divine essence, are indicated, and that a trinity in unity is thus necessarily established. The Eternal Father exhibits peculiarly the divine *Omnipotence* as the basis of all existence; wisdom supposes activity as well as omnipotence, the Almighty having from all eternity devised the plan which He executes through His Omnipotence; therefore wisdom, represented as from all eternity, is generated by the omnipotence which it supposes. Here the mind must withdraw itself from all temporal representations, and must beware of regarding the eternal generation under the idea of a successive series, but must contemplate it as something rooted in the Divine Essence, before all time and throughout all eternity—the necessary connection of Wisdom with Omnipotence. The Almighty, Whose omnipotence enables Him to realize all that He conceives—Whose wisdom enables Him to conceive all things as they are best, wills only *that* which His wisdom recognizes for the best. This is expressed by that dogma—"The Holy Ghost proceedeth from the Father and the Son." This *procession* (7) points out in the most striking manner the nature of the Holy Ghost, the divine love necessarily linked with the divine self-knowledge; for communication is the very essence of love, man almost, as it were, losing his own being, in that of another, through love. The love of God (8) is eternally grounded in His essence, although

the creatures, as the works of this love, and the objects to which it refers, do not *necessarily* exist.

If Abelard had followed out this grand idea, instead of keeping within the bounds which, in this instance, and in so many others, he has prescribed to himself, he would have fallen into a great heresy,—the notion, namely, that there is grounded in the very essence of God, a heavenly eternal creation, the effect of the holy love which constitutes that essence; a creation different from that which exists in time, and presupposes another law besides God; and no profound distinction would have satisfied him that this [4] does not contravene the superiority of the Divine Being above the creation, because the creatures always in their very nature had a beginning, and are dependent, although the principle and source of their existence, love, is one with God's holy essence. The essence even of the human mind, that type of the Godhead, consists, we know, in endless endeavour to impart itself, and to expand to objects out of itself. That which is anterior to all human feeling, all human cognizance, and action, always developes itself more clearly and more vividly, as the individual advances to perfection.

Abelard, who was carried by the free impetus of his mind to principles which would have led him farther than he, hampered by the Church system, could have pursued them, must necessarily, in these general fundamental principles, and by his too profound speculations, when, grasping the doctrine of free-will in its roots, he applied it to the investigation of the Divine Nature, have led men incapable of apprehending him, into error. He

[4] *I. e.* the existence of a creation in time.

who does not elevate himself above time and space, and who regards this present condition of man as the primitive, must needs come to this,—that either he will hence deny the existence of the primitive, perfect, and unlimited, or, reversing the order of things, he will take the negative for the positive, the limited for the unlimited, and the imperfect for the perfect. Thus, since he everywhere finds, and feels in himself a choice between differing tendencies (Richtungen), in the possibility of an election between modes of action, of doing something, or of leaving it undone; he deems this power of choice between diversities and opposites to be the very essence of freedom, and holds that man for a blasphemer who overturns this idol; or he perceives the nothingness of this freedom, and shows that in this case the self-election of man is but apparent, and therefore, as he has no intuitive knowledge[5] of a real original and self-determining freedom, he denies its existence, as well as the existence of a personal God and a self-dependent world, and becomes a materialist or pantheist. Abelard shows that "the definition of freedom, as the power of indifferently doing or omitting to do certain actions, is only adapted to imperfect beings; as the power of choosing between good and evil is only suitable to the depraved condition of man; for that, in proportion as a man withdraws from sin, and is attracted by goodness, being delivered from that intolerable bondage of sin, the more spontaneous becomes his decision in the choice of good. According to the definition of freedom, in its application to God and man, is that of capability (Vermögen), that of reason, self-determining without constraint to execute through her own will. That negative

[5] German, Anschauung.

capability of acting inconsistently with the nature of a being, of rejecting the right, is but the peculiarity of the weakness of human nature, and is not, therefore, to be charged upon God. God at all times chooseth and executeth that which is best, and, in conformity to His nature, He cannot choose ought save *that* best."

Abelard justly observes here, that the capability of God refers to no time, which is external to Him, the successions of time enter only into the execution; indeed, all the difficulties arise from the confusion of these two several orders of things, the eternal established in God, and the temporal." But this necessity of His nature, which is goodness itself, is *inseparable* from His *will*, and must not be confounded with the *constraint* through which any one is compelled to do somewhat against his will. Yea, God is therefore the more to be loved and praised, because this goodness is not a mere contingency, but His immutable essence."

If Abelard had logically followed out the course of his system, he must have come to this result: that reason, in conformity with its appropriate determination, is nothing but the ear for the voice of the Divinity[6]; the hearing of this voice, the source of all religious truth in man; as the neglecting to hear, or the mistaking it, is the source of all error; (all true philosophy and theology hinged on the discovery of the ground of this non-apprehension, and misapprehension, and of the remedy against them[7].) He hath represented the doctrine of the Trinity as a truth grounded in the nature of reason; he therefore endeavoured to show that the most remark-

[6] "In Him was life, and the life was the light of men."—John i. 4.

[7] "And the light shineth in darkness, but the darkness comprehended it not."—John i. 5.

able and eminent of the ancient philosophers had declared this truth in their writings; although not openly, because men were not then ripe for its reception. It was his idea, and this idea was the general result of all his views, that all goodness and truth originate from a revelation of the Divinity; from Its all operative Spirit. He praises the virtues of honourable Greeks, especially of the philosophers, and among those, the Platonists in particular; for he esteemed the virtue of the contemplative life as the highest of all. (Here he should have paid more regard to the distinction of which he was conscious; and of which, as a diligent reader of Augustine, he must have been well aware, between the self-sufficing virtue of the Stoics, the virtue of the Platonists, the most nearly akin to that of the Gospel, and the Christian virtue, humble and resigned, and therefore loftier, because in its humility and devotedness to God, it is still calm and unassuming). "The heathen virtue, originating in the divinely-allied nature of man, resembled the Christian virtue in this particularly; that it was produced, not by the fear of punishment, but by spontaneous love for that Good which is adapted to the primitive nature of man, and by the abhorrence of evil. And if this appear to be insufficient for the attainment of salvation, because the good is embraced from the love of good, rather than from love to God, (as though we were capable of any virtue, or of any good work, that is not agreeable (gemäss) to God and according to His will;) this also is readily discovered in the [writings of the] philosophers; that they had held the Supreme God to be not only the principle, origin, and operating cause, but the object of all good, so that all good was done out of love to Him, from Whose mercy it originates." He also believed that God had sometimes recompensed the virtues

of the heathen, by conferring on them the power of working miracles, as in the case of Vespasian. From all this he draws the conclusion, that God, Whose power was manifested in the lives of these men, had also certainly communicated to them a higher knowledge of His truth, and this Abelard endeavours to trace in the doctrines of the philosophers, under its allegorical veil; "for God must, through the gift of his richer mercy to them, have led men to perceive that those who lived temperately, despising the world, and withdrawing from its attractions, are more agreeable to Him, (9) than those, who, devoted to its pleasures, were sunk in all manner of earthly pollution."

Had Abelard been able to pursue this fundamental position (Grundsatz) logically, he would have deviated in many respects from the catholic doctrine; he would have arrived at the idea of a Church, unlimited by time, and space, and outward signs, eternal and invisible, and resulting from the everlasting plan of human redemption, from the indissoluble bond by which God and man are united, and from the free operation of the Divine Spirit, as it has been expressed by Origen, Zuinglius, and Ecolampadius. "The philosophers," says he, "are allied to Christians in respect of their life, as well as from affinity of name; in respect of the last, because we, after the wisdom of God, which is Christ, are called Christians, we therefore must also, in the true sense of the word, be called philosophers, if we truly love Christ; in respect of the former, through the fulness of love, because we are called in grace to do that which is good; not according to Jewish bondage, through fear of punishment or earthly hopes, but in the earnest aspiration after eternal life." Here Abelard was cramped by the dogma of the universal and absolute necessity of outward bap-

tism, to redeem man from the damnation and corruption into which he had fallen by Adam's sin; he had therefore to seek some expedient that might enable him to reconcile this dogma with his system. "The sacraments of the New Testament have this advantage over the sacraments of the Old Testament; the latter, having reference to the Jews alone, men at that time were capable of being sanctified and admitted into the way of salvation, by the Spirit of God, *without these external* signs; while Baptism being of universal application, and having reference to the whole human race, there has been no other means of obtaining remission of sin, since the appointment of this Sacrament." Abelard often evinces an honest indignation against the degenerate clergy of those days, who shamefully denied in their lives, the gospel which they should have declared; and against the worldliness of the monks, whom he regarded as occupying the highest position among men, inasmuch as they were appointed to devote their lives to the contemplation of the Eternal. It was, perhaps, this indignant spirit which led him to exalt the more highly the virtues of the heathen, in order to shame his contemporaries, by exhibiting in strong contrast the lives of these men, who, guided only by the divine light within them, acted in harmony with the precepts of the Gospel, and the lives of those to whom God had given the holiest and most perfect of systems, and whose duty it was to live in exact conformity thereto. After describing the virtues of the ancients, who had devoted their lives to the Supreme Good[8], he says, "The abbots of our times might well be put to shame, and moved at least, by the example of these heathens, to amend their manners,

[8] Theolog. Christ. i. ii. pag. 1215.

instead of greedily devouring the most far-fetched messes (10) one after another, before the eyes of their miserable and pulse-fed brethren. And Christian princes might also take a lesson from the zeal of the heathen in asserting the right." After presenting the example of Diogenes the cynic, he continues[9], "Now what would the monks of our time, who profess, with Christ, to despise the world, say to this? What would they say, who in order to enhance the relish of their wine, mix together a variety of outlandish compounds, and search out costly and glittering cups, not contenting themselves with the ordinary preparations? Plato banished all poets from *his* republic, on the other hand, what do the bishops? On those high festivals which should be appropriated to the sole honour and praise of God, they attract jugglers, dancers, and singers to their tables, and after feasting and making merry with them day and night, they reward them with gifts derived from their spiritual benefices, and from the oblations of the poor; which they thus convert into offerings to demons." In *opposition* to the pharisaical hypocrisy, and to the superstitious ceremonial worship, which he saw encouraged by the wretched clergy and by the monks, he might probably be urged to declare, in still stronger language, that the genuine piety acceptable before God, consists not in externals, but in the inward disposition of the heart. Therefore he says, "If we thoroughly examine the moral precepts of the Gospel, we shall find that they are nothing but a renewal of the implanted law of the divinely-allied nature of man, (so I translate, in Abelard's view, the *Reformatio Legis Naturalis)* which had been followed by the philosophers;

[9] P. 1219.

while the Mosaic law was grounded more upon typical, than upon moral precepts, and produced rather an external than the inward righteousness; the Gospel, on the contrary, proves all virtues and vices, and, like the philosophers, weighs all things in the balance of the inward intention (11). In this view he advanced a principle in his Ethics, which might easily be misunderstood; and which, in fact, was misunderstood by many of his contemporaries. "That the morality of an action did not depend on the External and Material, on that which is seen by men; but in its intention in the ground of the will, which is known only to God; and that merit or guilt could not, in the sight of God, be either determined or modified by the addition of the outward act. Sin consists in a man refusing to do, or to leave undone, what he himself believes to be the will of God, that he should either do, or leave undone; in his neglecting to subdue the motions and inclinations which oppose themselves to the law of God, through love and regard to Him; for God is injured, not by the evil consequences of the outward act, but by the contempt of Himself."

In many other discourses, Abelard gave vent to his feeling of indignation against those, who to the prejudice of true religion and morality, overwhelmed the spirit of Christianity beneath a heap of abuses and vain conceits; and carried away by his displeasure, he was led to express himself in language too strong to be tolerated by the multitude. Very forcibly did he declaim (12) against the conceit of his rude contemporaries, who deluded themselves, or were deluded by covetous, God-forgetting, unworthy priests, with the idea that a penitent confession of sin, wrung from them in their last moments by the fear of purgatory or of hell, or that a number

of masses purchased with their ill-gotten gold, for the repose of their souls, would obtain the remission of their sins from God. "Only *that* repentance," says he, in reproving such men,—"only *that* sorrow for sin is effectual, which arises rather from love towards the God, whose goodness and mercy to ourselves we recognize, than from fear of punishment. Sin cannot exist where there is this groaning and this heartfelt contrition: the love of God, which excites this sorrow in man, cannot tolerate any sin; through this sorrow we are immediately reconciled to God."

He revolted at the idea that the spiritual weal or woe of men could be determined by the caprice or the ignorance of worldly-minded bishops. When men asserted the episcopal power from the well-known words of Christ[1], "Whosesoever sins ye remit, they are remitted; and whosesoever sins ye retain, they are retained;" Abelard, while he admitted the interpretation of the Church as to the actual transmission of this power of forgiving or retaining sins by Christ to his apostles, strove at the same time to refute the claim which the bishops, as the followers of the apostles, grounded on this transmission. He maintained that this speech of Christ, like many other similar speeches addressed to his disciples, such as, "Ye are the salt of the earth, the light of the world," belonged exclusively to the apostles, since the Lord had not conferred the same degree of knowledge or of piety which He had bestowed on the apostles, on their successors; except, perhaps, on those who were successors of Peter, not merely in his exalted dignity, but in his meritorious conduct; that they could have no power, where their judg-

[1] John xx. 23.

ment was contrary to that of God; and that an unjust excommunication can do no harm. In the vehemence of his displeasure against the bishops, who arrogated to themselves these powers, he applied to them the words of the 50th Psalm,—"This hast thou done, and I held my tongue, and thou thoughtest wickedly that I was such an one as thyself; but I will reprove thee."

Although Abelard ridiculed the pretended miracles of his time, we must not suppose him to have been a miracle-denying philosopher. He was convinced that genuine faith *must* work miracles; but it appeared to him that this holy and God-prevailing faith was no longer to be found among mankind, and he hated those arts by which man counterfeited the Divinity.

When certain men, reverenced by the people, made no pretension to the gift of miracles, (which were wont to be honoured in the saints,) but were satisfied with the fame of their *sanctity*, "because," said they, "the Church no longer possesses the gift of miracles, and the faith, which is every where established, is now sufficient,"—Abelard said, in order to shame them, "A dead faith which worketh not by love, is as good as none; and there are yet Jews, heretics, and gentiles, to be converted; but there are none worthy of this grace, while all would use it to minister to their vanity alone." Such principles and such language would naturally find opponents *in that age*. Many of his principles would have led him to a still farther contradiction with the doctrines of the Church, if he had pursued them consistently; but this he could not do, for he was himself restrained in spirit by the doctrinal conceptions of the Church, and it was not by any means his purpose to oppose these in any way. From the incongruity between his theological and philosophical principles and the Church

doctrines by which he was limited, and the casuistic logic into which he fell, through the spirit of the times, and through the newly-invented method and dialect of philosophizing, there arose a general want of harmony in his theology, which exposed him to still farther misapprehension. It is probable that the first person who declared his astonishment at these principles, which were first laid down by Abelard in his *Introductio in Theologiam*, and widely disseminated by his enthusiastic disciples, was Master Walter de Mauritania, a man who did not identify himself with the class inimical to all speculative theology, but who had himself delivered philosophizing theological lectures on Mont S. Geneviève[2] at Paris[3], where Abelard had formerly taught. Master Walter favoured such a moderate use of philo-

[2] Mont S. Geneviève was not at that time within the inclosure of the walls built around the fauxbourgs of Paris by Louis le Gros.

[3] The number of those who flocked to Abelard's lectures was immense. English, Romans, natives of Germany, Sweden, and Denmark, thronged to hear him. "Ut nec locus hospitiis, nec terra sufficeret alimentis," says Abelard of the crowds that attended him. It seems remarkable that questions of the subtle and abstruse nature, discussed in these lectures, should have excited so profound and universal an interest. The source of its attractiveness must have been in that pride of the human heart which was flattered by finding that the doctrines of religion were to be submitted to the investigation of the understanding previously to being received as articles of faith, "that they were to understand, instead of believing."

The tendency of the scholastic method to provoke questions on all subjects, however trifling and even absurd, is evident from the nature of those proposed and debated by these philosophers,—"Whether stars are animals?" "Why plants cannot grow in the fire?" "Why the nose is placed above the mouth?" "What God would have done, if Adam had not been seduced by Eve," &c.—Athelhardi, as quoted by Ratisbonne.

sophy in theological studies as did not overstep the limits of the doctrinal conceptions of the Church; and Abelard's freedom in philosophizing was on this account the more offensive to him. The manner in which he explained himself is the more honourable to him, because it is so rare to find an instance, in this or in any other age, of a learned controversy equally removed from uncharitable imputation of heresy, and from self-seeking, politely-indifferent toleration. He did not accuse Abelard to others; he did not attack him with theological imputations, but, laying before him the propositions ascribed to him, he showed him where they appeared to him to be at variance with the pure doctrines of the Church, and entreated that where he had misunderstood him, he would correct his errors, and refute his arguments. He deemed that the matter might best be cleared up through the medium of an epistolary correspondence. "This will afford the readiest means for a careful and dispassionate examination, for in writing to the absent, we have the opportunity of thoroughly trying his principles beforehand, without any of that irritation and captiousness which are so apt to agitate the minds and darken the eyes of disputants."

In presenting any truth above the province of human reason to their disciples, the philosophers, however free from vain presumption themselves, and however careful to repeat that their system was but the fruit of *human inquiry*, of human reflection, and in no wise to be deemed absolute, had ever had the utmost difficulty in repressing the fond conceit of these disciples, that in this system they had apprehended the nature of all things. This difficulty Abelard also experienced: it was the boast of his disciples that he had solved for them the problem of all knowledge, and imparted to them such a perfect cog-

nizance of the Divinity as left no room for farther aspirations. But Walter, while he considered such arrogant temerity as injurious to the faith, was well aware that philosophers ought least of all to be judged by the assertions of their disciples; "For," he writes to Abelard, "these disciples frequently deviate from the real meaning of their teachers; either misinterpreting their words, from having failed to comprehend them; or attributing to their master some newly-invented thesis originating in their own vanity, in order to gain for it the greater authority."

It is probable that other accusations against Abelard were also founded in misconception,—that he had asserted that "God, in accordance with his nature, is neither present in the world, nor anywhere; that the angel and the spirit are nowhere." (This misunderstanding no doubt arose from Abelard's having striven to remove all representations of time or space from the consideration of the Divine nature, and from his having maintained that for a spirit there is no such thing as space, and hardly as being, as it is predicated in this temporal world.) That he might not afford any nourishment to dogmatical pride, Abelard had, in the beginning of his "Introduction to Theology," declared, that what he promised was, rather to lay down his own *opinions* than to teach the *exact truth*. This had given occasion to that reproof of Walter,—"What orthodox man, when treating of the Catholic faith, would think of promising to lay down, *not the truth*, but his own *opinion* only?"—as if Abelard had here been speaking of religious truth considered in and by itself, and not simply of his philosophical view of it.

The first persecution against Abelard originated not in any polemical zeal for orthodoxy, but in party and

personal pique, availing itself of orthodoxy for a pretext. There were at Rheims two professors, Alberic and Lotulf, who, jealous of Abelard's reputation, used all their influence to induce the Archbishop Radolf, and Conon, the papal legate, to prohibit his teaching in public. Against the propriety of his *philosophical* lectures they urged the inconsistency of human learning with the monkish vocation, and his theological teaching they opposed with the ever-ready argument, that his theological education had not been that of the schools. He had not studied under any of the celebrated professors of theology, and to his self-mastership might be traced the heterodoxy of the system laid down in his "Introduction to Theology."

In the year 1121, Abelard was accordingly cited before the synod of Soissons, where his book was to be examined. The conduct of the people towards him, on his way to the council, might have afforded him an indication of its result; he was everywhere avoided as a heretic. At the council he found a friend in Godfrey, bishop of Chartres, a man distinguished for his disinterested piety, who explained to the assembled prelates, that, by condemning Abelard without a fair hearing, even though he might deserve condemnation, they would incur general odium through the vast numbers of his widely-spread disciples; and by thus appearing to persecute him unjustly, they would be giving greater weight to his opinions, and obtaining for them fresh supporters. He proposed that the propositions ascribed to Abelard should be laid before him in writing, and that he should be permitted to reply to them. But this proposal was overruled by the violent animosity of his opponents, who feared his powerful logic. The bishop however prevailed so far as to procure the adjournment of the

affair to a fuller synod at Paris, and Abelard was permitted to return to his convent. Even this decision his enemies found means to reverse, by representing to the prelates the salutary effect of giving a warning example, by which the presumption of such men might be checked for the future. Abelard was thereupon summoned again to appear before the council; and then, urged by the representations of his friend, the bishop of Chartres, "that it was necessary, in order to procure peace, and that these tumultuary proceedings would be more injurious to his enemies than to himself," he cast his book into the fire with his own hand, and was then committed to safe-keeping in a convent, as was usual with heretics condemned to penance. What the bishop of Chartres had foretold, soon came to pass; Abelard's unjust and oppressive sentence served but to increase the number of his friends, while universal contumely was the portion of his adversaries; and the papal legate, thoroughly ashamed of having lent himself to their purposes, allowed him, after a few days, to return to his own convent at Paris.

In these disputes, originating solely in personal feeling, Bernard had taken no part. In the following years, Abelard, who had called down on himself fresh persecutions, by the boldness and powerful truth with which he rebuked the worldly lives of his brother monks, was too much disturbed to pursue his philosophical inquiries. From this life-embittering strife, he at length withdrew, having obtained permission to quit his convent [at St. Denis], and sought in long-desired solitude, the opportunity of devoting himself without distraction to the researches of his deeply-inquiring mind. In the district of Troyes he erected for himself a hermitage of reeds and straw, and this he subsequently consecrated as a chapel

to the Holy Ghost, the Comforter, the Paraclete, who had here, after so many storms, vouchsafed to give him peace. Here, his poverty, and the want of the common necessaries of life, first compelled him to resume his lectures. The eager youth came flocking on all sides from castles and from palaces, to listen to the mighty man, whose attractions consisted, not in any surrounding accompaniments of outward show, but in the eloquence which had its source in his heart. Men who had been nurtured in glittering pomp and softening luxury, inflamed by his discourses, did not fear to share the hardships of his ascetic and needy life; and the desert region was soon studded with the cells of the innumerable youths whom he had attracted. They rebuilt the chapel of their teacher of stone, and ministered by their personal labour and with their substance to the bodily wants of him, who supplied strong nourishment to the spirit. Through the ardour of his disciples, his philosophical system had been widely disseminated both in and out of France[4], and a noble enthusiasm possessed the excitable minds of the young. But as in the course of earthly things, the good is ever accompanied with evil, so was it in this instance; and the consequence of this enthusiastic movement, was to introduce as exercises for daily disputation, those things which are rather subjects for reflection and prayer, than for discourse; which should never be referred to, save in a suitable spirit, with calm and holy seriousness; but which thus ceased to be treated with becoming reverence; and were by these youths boldly discussed,

[4] The vain delight which Abelard took in these triumphs, is expressed in one of his letters written at this time. "While my person is confined to this one little spot of ground, fame is spreading my name all over the universe, and all the places where it sounds, are so many echos to repeat it."

although they can be but vaguely intimated in human language. Such results naturally aroused the apprehensions of men, who prized above all things a firm foundation of faith, and who dreaded to see that which is beyond human comprehension, desecrated by an arrogant [system of] dialectics, which sought to comprise all things in words and conceptions [5].

The two most highly-esteemed men, [of this way of thinking] Bernard and Norbert, who may have been urged by the odious representations of his enemies, now united to oppose Abelard; an opposition far more formidable than any he had hitherto encountered. The idea of the council now assembling in France, excited in Abelard's mind apprehensions of some new attack, and in the hope of avoiding this, he, in the year 1128, accepted the abbey of [St. Gildas] in Bretagne, where he might withdraw himself from the observation of his adversaries. But here the fate which was ever throwing him into fresh scenes of strife, prepared for him such full employment, in combating the licentiousness of the degenerate monks, as well as the barbarism of the nation, as left him no leisure for more congenial pursuits. Bernard's attention had been wholly engrossed by other matters for some years past, and the business of the schism had afforded full occupation for his activity. In the meantime, through the residence of the papal court in France, Abelard had become acquainted with the most eminent of the cardinals; the vigour of his mind, his love of the truth, his zeal for religion and knowledge, won for him the friendship of the best of them, and several of their number were counted among his disciples, such as the Master Ivo, and Guido de Castellis.

[5] Begriffe, German.

In this interval, then, Abelard resumed the teaching of those principles so obnoxious to his contemporaries, both orally and in his writings, especially in his "Christian Theology;" another and altered version of his "Introduction to Theology." His philosophy was diffused beyond the Alps and the seas by his writings, and by his enthusiastic scholars.

It was on Bernard's return to Clairvaux, after his last visit to Rome, that his attention was directed towards the philosophy which appeared to him destructive to the present and future welfare of mankind; and from which he apprehended the profanation of all most sacred [6]. He began, indeed, by exhorting Abelard, in repeated private conferences, to change his mode of teaching; but it was not to be supposed that two men, mutually prejudiced against each other [7], and differing so widely in

[6] The first occasion of a collision between Bernard and Abelard, had arisen from a visit which Bernard had paid to the convent of the Paraclete, where he had been received as an angel from heaven by Heloisa and her nuns. He approved of their rules and institutes, which had been drawn up by Abelard, but he had objected to an innovation, which Abelard had introduced into the Lord's prayer; substituting for *Daily* bread, "*Supersubstantial* bread." Although Bernard had spoken with "great deference of Abelard, and had commended everything else in the nunnery, the pride of the latter took fire, and he wrote a warm expostulation, and endeavoured to prove the propriety of his reading, by alleging the superior authority of St. Matthew over St. Luke."—Milner.

[7] It does not appear that there was any *prejudice* on the mind of Bernard. His attention was called to the subject by his friend, the abbot of St. Thierry, who wrote to urge him to exert himself in the cause of the "faith, of our common hope, now grievously and dangerously corrupted." With his letter he sent Abelard's "Theology," to which he had appended his own remarks. It would even appear from this letter that Bernard had been *favourably* inclined towards Abelard, for the abbot William thus con-

habits of mind and in character, should meet without becoming further alienated, instead of arriving at a mutual understanding. Bernard then took every oppor-

cludes his letter: "If I can convince you that I am justly moved, I trust that you also will be moved, and in an important cause like this, will not fear to part with him, though he be a foot, a hand, or an eye. I myself have loved him, and wish to do so still, God is my witness; but in this cause, I see neither relation nor friend."

The self-distrusting humility of Bernard is fully evinced in his answer. "I think your zeal both just and necessary, and that it was not idle the book you have sent me demonstrates. . . . But as I have not been accustomed to trust to my own judgment, especially on things of so great importance, I believe the best way would be for you and me to meet and talk over the subject. Yet even this, I think, cannot be done till after Easter, lest the devotions of the holy season be disturbed. I must beseech you to have patience with me, and to pardon my silence on the subject, since I was hitherto ignorant of most, if not all the particulars. As to that which you exhort me to, God is able to inspire me with His good Spirit through your prayers."

Having thoroughly investigated the subject, Bernard, now fully impressed with its awful magnitude, undertook a journey to visit and privately confer with Abelard. In these conferences he kindly admonished him of his errors, and intreated him to correct them. This attempt proving fruitless, he took two or three persons with him, according to the precept of the Gospel, and in their presence expostulated with the innovator. Finding all these endeavours utterly ineffectual, and having proved himself sufficiently clear from personal malice, or blind precipitation, he began, as far as he could, to warn the disciples of Abelard against the errors of their master, and to guard the Christian world against the growing heresy.

Such is Milner's account of the conduct of Bernard, which certainly does not appear to deserve the imputation of prejudice. That he and Abelard saw through a widely different medium, is undoubtedly true, as true as the difference between truth and falsehood: but truth and prejudice are not to be confounded; and, under God, we may thank Bernard for having saved the Church from the infidel poison of Socinianism in the twelfth century.

tunity of warning Abelard's scholars against the theology of their master. But Abelard was not a man to be afraid of a controversy [8], or to neglect an imputation; his own honour, his zeal for philosophy, now thus exposed to suspicion, compelled him to speak; and he was unconscious of any dereliction from the orthodox doctrinal conceptions, which he held sacred. A numerous synod being summoned to assemble at Sens, in the year 1140, he therefore declared himself ready to dispute with Bernard, and refute his charges, before the most eminent prelates of the kingdom of France. He announced this to all his disciples, and invited them to be witnesses of his triumph. Bernard showed little inclination to accept the challenge, he had no confidence in his own powers, as opposed to those of the first logician of his times, whom no philosopher had hitherto been able to confute. It was also contrary to his principles to convert the doctrines of the faith into subjects for dialectic disputation; it was his idea, that Abelard's opinions ought to be compared with the indisputable, sublime, and genuine doctrines of the Church; thus Abelard was already condemned. He therefore, in the first instance, declined the invitation which had been transmitted to him through the archbishop of Sens. On this refusal, Abelard's reputation rose higher than ever, and his disciples triumphantly proclaimed that the far-famed abbot durst not venture to engage in a disputation with their master. Thus urged, Bernard found himself obliged, either to accept the challenge, or to leave his opponent

[8] "He loved controversy," says Berrington, "and was pleased with the sound of his own voice; rather looked for quibbles and evasive sophistry in his most favourite researches, than for truth and the convictions of reason; in a word, he was a disputatious logician, and in this consisted all his philosophy."

and his opinions in possession of this triumph. We will let him speak for himself[9]. "I declined the challenge, partly because I was but a youth, and he a man-of-war from his youth; partly, because I hold it unmeet to subject matters of faith, which are grounded on the sure and stedfast truth, to the subtleties of human argumentation. I replied that his writings are sufficient to accuse him, and that it is not my business, but that of the bishops, whose vocation it is to decide questions of faith. Notwithstanding, yea, the rather for this answer, he lifted up his voice, so as to attract many, and assembled his adherents. I will not relate the things that he wrote of me to his scholars, but he affirmed everywhere that he would meet and dispute with me, on the appointed day, at Sens. The news reached all men, and could not be hidden from me. At first I disregarded it as idle gossip, undeserving of credit, but finally I yielded, though with great reluctance, and with many tears, to the counsel of my friends; for, seeing that all men were preparing themselves for the conference as for an encounter of combatants, they feared lest my absence should be a stumbling-block to the people, and an occasion of triumph to the adversary, who would wax stronger if none could be found to oppose him. So I came to the appointed place at the time appointed, but unprepared, and mindful of those words of Scripture, 'Do not premeditate how you shall answer, for it shall be given you in that same hour what ye shall say;' and that other, 'The Lord is my helper; whom,' then, shall I fear?'"

The assembly was very numerous. The king himself was present, with all the most eminent prelates and

[9] Ep. 189.

abbots: the whole party, who desired to establish the authority of philosophy, waited in anxious anticipation for the result, and many masters and learned clerks from all parts of France had flocked to the council. But Abelard could not have expected that in an assembly of the French clergy he should be permitted to engage in peaceful argument with the man who was their oracle. Indeed, Bernard had previously determined not to enter on any argument. He first read before the council the passages from Abelard's writings, which he had selected as heretical, and then produced passages from the fathers, whereby these were refuted. Abelard was upon this called upon to declare whether or not he recognized these propositions as his, and then either to retract or to defend them [1]. From the manner in which the business was carried on, Abelard might at once perceive that his acknowledgment was only required for the purpose of pronouncing him a heretic; he was silent, and the propositions were condemned by the council as heretical. On this he appealed (12), on the following day, before the council had had time to proceed to a personal judgment, to the pope; well aware that his philosophy had many

[1] That Abelard refused to defend his own propositions, is surely not to be attributed to the overpowering influence of Bernard at the council, where the friends and partizans of Abelard were at least as numerous, but rather to his own internal conviction of their heretical nature. Scarcely had the prompter begun to read the charges against him, when Abelard rose to leave the assembly, at the same time announcing an appeal to the pope. "Do you fear for your person?" said Bernard, in astonishment. "You are perfectly secure. You know that nothing is intended against you. You may answer freely, assured of a patient hearing." Bernard's word was above all suspicion; but the conscience-stricken heretic was not to be reassured. "I have appealed to the court of Rome," he replied, and so withdrew.

friends in the Romish court, and that at Rome the *appellant* was always the favoured party. According to the old ecclesiastical law, this appeal might indeed have been declared invalid, and the matter brought to an issue without any regard to it; for this law admitted no appeal from self-chosen judges (13). But from the days of Gregory the Seventh, a different ecclesiastical law had been forming itself, by which all power was thrown into the hands of the pope, and the other tribunals became entirely subservient. The bishops, therefore, suspended their judicial proceedings, and forwarded a report of the affair to Rome. This report was drawn up by Bernard[2], who at the same time dispatched letters written in *his own name*, to the pope and the most eminent cardinals, to point out to them the perils which menaced the Church system, and to warn them against Abelard. "His yet unpractised hearers, yea, tyros," writes Bernard, "who are but newly weaned from the milk of logic, and who are yet scarcely capable of receiving the *elements* of the faith, he leads into the mysteries of the Holy Trinity, to that which, shrouded in darkness, hides itself from human eyes; and not only in the schools, but in the public places, and in the streets, the Catholic faith, the conception of the Virgin, the sacrament of the altar, the incomprehensible mystery of the Trinity, are made subjects of disputation, not for the learned alone, but for boys, for ignorant men, and for fools. He has also taken measures for spreading his poisonous doctrines among posterity, to the injury of all future generations. The faith of the simple-minded is derided, the highest things are made the subjects of rash and impertinent questions," (by no means

[2] Ep. 237.

an unfounded reproach against the casuistic logic), "and our fathers are held up to scorn and derision, because they considered it better that these questions should be suppressed than solved. Human reason knows no bounds to its pretensions, and leaving nothing to faith, will not that man should see anything through a glass darkly, but all face to face. Better had it been for him if, in accordance with the title of his book," (his Ethics, inscribed "Nosce teipsum,"). "he had known himself; he treats of vice and virtue without moral correctness; of the sacraments of the Church without faith; of the mystery of the Trinity without simplicity, and without unction." Bernard's individual and internal interest in this controversy is however best ascertained from his celebrated letter, written in the name of the archbishop of Rheims to the pope[3]; it is also one of his most masterly performances. Abelard's system he viewed as a species of rationalism, and, regarding his doctrine of faith as the source of all his errors, he attacked this first. "While," says Bernard, "he professes to explain all things by reason, even those which lie beyond the limits of reason, he fights at once against faith and reason; for what is more contrary to reason, than through reason to seek to soar above reason?—and what is more contrary to faith, than to refuse our belief to that which we cannot attain by reason? Mary is therefore commended, because she believed without inquiry; and Zacharias is therefore punished, because he would not believe till he had inquired."

According to Bernard, examination and inquiry are so far from leading to faith, that they rather incapacitate a man for believing, by teaching him to measure by

[3] Ep. 190, Opusc. 11.

human conception that which is *beyond* all *human* conception. Faith, in Bernard's opinion, is an act of the will, which, being moved by divine grace, denies itself, and enters into a higher order of things, a state, therefore, necessarily hidden from human understanding, and incomprehensible to it. (Abelard had spoken of an *honest* inquiry—a state of mental warfare, by means of which a man may attain to "rest and peace in believing." They might have come to an understanding by a comparison of their different points of view.) Faith, in Bernard's view, is peculiar to this life, where man, incorporated in a lower order of things, is only capable of a presentiment of a higher world, which is not a subject of cognition, because it can only be recognized in itself, where the spirit is no longer separated from it. Here man, at the best, can only attain to some few moments of sight, when his soul is elevated above itself through the grace of God. That God is to be found not by disputation, but by prayer, was Bernard's creed. "Faith and sight," he said, "are sure by themselves, and error is only in opinion, which unjustly appropriates to itself the certainty of sight, bringing reflections of the temporal world to bear on the incomprehensible." Hence it appeared to him that Abelard, by engaging to bring home to the comprehension of his hearers even the sublimest and most sacred matters of faith, introduced "the idea of a graduated succession into the Trinity; that of measure into the Divine Majesty, and that of number into Eternity."

Abelard, in the passage where he distinguishes faith from sight, had used this expression, "Faith is an opinion concerning *(æstimatio)* that which doth not yet appear." This Bernard understood as though he had degraded faith to a level with opinion, and he exclaims, "Far be

it from us to leave aught belonging either to our faith or our hope in an *empty opinion*, so that the whole sum of it should be removed from the sure and stedfast foundation of truth, confirmed of God through prophecies and miracles, established and sanctified by the Offspring of the Virgin, the blood of the Redeemer, the glory of the Resurrection; with which outward certainty we connect the inward, 'the Spirit itself bearing witness with our spirit that we are the children of God.' How can a man presume to call faith an opinion, except either he has not yet received this Spirit, or doth not know the Gospel, or holdeth it for a fable?" Bernard appeals to the definition of faith in the Epistle to the Hebrews, chap. xi. 1, which is indeed very striking,—"Faith is the substance of things hoped for, the *evidence* of things not seen."

Abelard had, in his Theology, and here and there in his Ethics, viewed particular religious doctrines from the central point of a higher idea; but this central point of a higher and mystical[4] view *(Anschauung,)* (without which we know nothing in general of a personal God, of a state of freedom to be expected, and of a personal immortality,) was not always present to him as a philosopher, from which to consider the doctrines of Christianity. In other writings he had treated particular Church doctrines in a logical manner, not seeking to apprehend *(erkennen)* them in their relation to the nature of Christianity[5], but taking them up, severed from their connection with the whole, in the form impressed on them by the Church of his time. Thus, in his Commentary on

[4] Mystical, of μυέω, to close the eyes to the world of sense and open them to another world.—Neander.

[5] Urchristenthum, German.

the Epistle to the Romans, he had handled logically the doctrine of the Redemption, raising many questions, making and solving many difficulties; and his religious convictions are therefore not to be gathered from this logical disputation. He stated these doctrines in their Church form, in a manner altogether carnal *(fleischlich)*, as if God had made a contract with Satan, whereby the latter had, after the fall of Adam, obtained a proper right over man, and that the offended God had absolutely required the sacrifice of an innocent person, in order to reconcile himself to man, as though, through this satisfaction, Satan had lost his right over man. Then, taking the other side, he got rid of the difficulty into which this carnal orthodoxy had led him, and extricated himself from all these intricacies by the decision of the Christian moral feeling. "The object of the Incarnation, of the life and death of Christ, was to enlighten men by the light of His wisdom, and to inflame them by His love[6]."

But Abelard, as we have seen, had asserted his idea of a positive freedom attainable by man: he represented man in a twofold position, as the captive of evil, and the freeman of good: he believed that man in his earthly nature is in a position where he finds himself obstructed in working out his true freedom. Now, in so saying, wherein does he differ in principle from Bernard, who maintained that man is the captive of Satan, and can

[6] The very essence of Socinianism. He asserted that "God would not have been reconciled to us by the death of His Son, since that would only incense Him still more against us," with other arguments too blasphemous to be repeated. He also maintained, in direct contradiction to St. Paul, that "by free-will, without the help of grace, we can both will and perform that which is good."—Milner, vol. iii. p. 346.

only be delivered by the Redeemer. But Abelard, treating of that idea logically, would not place it in its connection with the precise dogma; and Bernard, who kept closely to the letter of the Church-doctrinal form, could not set it in this connection for him. Both, through (the medium of) Christianity, had the connection in their hearts; but Bernard, beguiled by the heat of controversy, refused to recognize in his opponent, and confounding external with things internal, even denied him (the possession of) the Christian sentiment[7]. It appeared to him as if Abelard, through his rationalism, degraded Christ to the level of a mere man, who excited His followers to good, without (the existence of) any higher and divine influence, only by the example of His life; and he says, "Thou canst not give thanks with the redeemed, because thou thyself art not of the redeemed, for if thou wert, thou wouldst acknowledge the Redeemer, and not reject the redemption. Incomparable teacher! revealing the very depths of the divinity, and making them clear and accessible to whom he will; and rendering the hidden mystery which hath been shut up through all time, so plain and open, through his interpretation, that it may be penetrated even by the novice and the unclean." Bernard believed that moral teaching might indeed exhibit to man that good which is akin to his original nature, and inseparable from it; but that a higher power was necessary to enable him to triumph over the antagonist principle opposed to his primitive nature and its laws, and thus to obtain freedom for pursuing that good; and he therefore says, "What avails it that Christ should instruct us, unless He also enable us? Or would not instruction be vain, unless the love of sin be first destroyed

[7] Gesinnung, German.

in us, that we should no longer serve sin?" And he concluded, "I behold three several objects in the work of Redemption; the example of humility—God emptying Himself; the measure of love, extending even to death, and the death upon the Cross; the mystery of Redemption, whereby death itself is annihilated." "It is one thing to follow Christ,—it is another thing to cleave unto Him through love,—it is another thing to feed upon His flesh and blood. To follow Him is wholesome counsel,—to cling to and embrace Him is a noble joy,—to feed upon Him is a holy life, for He is that bread of life which cometh down from Heaven, and giveth life to the world; and what is counsel or joy without life?"

The catalogue of Abelard's errors, and the representation made by Bernard of them, and of their spirit, was already sufficient to prejudice against him all those zealots for orthodoxy, who were no farther acquainted with Abelard's philosophy, and who were utterly ignorant of philosophy in general. His connection with a man[8], far more dangerous than himself to the Romish court, and too distinguished to be adventitiously alluded to, was also prejudicial to him, since, as the disciple of Abelard, the principles developed by this man appeared to demonstrate the tendencies of the system.

Bernard's influence, acquired by his activity during the papal schism, was powerful at the court of Rome: he was the confidential friend of the Cardinal Haimerich, who had mainly contributed to the elevation of Innocent, and who, as chancellor of the Romish Church, had the greatest influence in all affairs. Abelard was, therefore, overpowered; the pope condemned the propositions

[8] Arnold of Brescia.

selected by Bernard, and all the corrupt doctrines of Abelard, together with their author, who as a heretic was enjoined perpetual silence: sentence of excommunication was also passed against all the adherents of his system. In a private letter, addressed to the archbishops of Rheims and Sens, and to the Abbot Bernard, and which was not to be made public till after a conference with the rest of the French bishops, Innocent enjoined them to burn all the writings of Abelard, and to imprison him in any convent that they might be pleased to select,—a most unjust sentence. Abelard was condemned unheard, on the evidence of his opponent, without any inquiry whether the propositions selected were indeed to be found in his writings, or whether, in connection with the context, they might not be capable of another meaning; or whether Abelard had not himself written them in a different meaning; his *corrupt doctrines* had become a by-word, but no one had defined what they were (14). At a time when the power of the popes had been less firmly established than it was at this era, such a step might have led to protracted disputes, perilous to their authority. Now it had no other result than that of provoking the enthusiastic disciples of Abelard, (whose youthful ardour led them to disregard all thoughts of consequences,) to display their wit in a series of satires, in which the council that condemned their master was freely attacked, and even the court of Rome was not spared (15).

But before the arrival of the papal sentence, peace had already been made between Bernard and his opponent. Abelard, who had set out on his journey to Rome, had taken Clugni in his way, and there, through the mediation of Peter the Venerable, a reconciliation had taken place. Weary of the ever-recurring struggles

by which his life had been disturbed since the first misfortune into which his youthful passions had precipitated him, he earnestly desired a retreat, where he might pass the latter days of his declining years in peace. This was now offered to him by the kindness of the humane and knowledge-loving abbot of Clugni, who rejoiced in the opportunity of availing himself of the eminent talents and learning of Abelard for the instruction of his monks. The abbot applied to the pope in his behalf, in the following letter:—"Master Peter, who is, I believe, well known unto you, is lately arrived here at Clugni, in his journey through France. I asked him whither he was going; he answered me, 'That, persecuted by some who had given him the name of heretic, a name he justly abhors, he had appealed to the apostolic throne, and would fain take refuge there.' I commended and encouraged him in this purpose, with the assurance that he would not in vain supplicate from the successor of the apostle, for that justice which is never denied even to a stranger, and which would be prevented by mercy, where equity would allow it. In the meanwhile cometh to us the Cistercian abbot, and treated with us and with himself concerning his reconciliation with the abbot of Clairvaux. I exhorted him to effect it, adding, that if he had written or said aught contrary to the orthodox faith, he should retract his words [9], and strike it out of his writings. And so it was. He left us, and then returned, bringing with him the news of his reconciliation with the abbot of Clairvaux. Thereafter, moved by our exhortation, or, as we rather believe, by the suggestion of the Holy Ghost, he hath forsaken schools and studies, and sought in your Clugni an abiding resting-place; and I,

[9] Hence the "Apologia seu Confessio Abælardi."

deeming it an appropriate retreat for one of his years, his infirmities and his piety, and believing that his learning, which is known unto you, may advantage our brethren, have complied with his request(16); and now, I entreat you; the whole order of Clugni, which is entirely devoted to you, entreats you; he himself entreats you of himself, through me, and by this letter, for permission to pass the remainder of his days, which probably will be but few, in your Clugni. We implore for him, from you, who love all the good, and have formerly loved him, the protection of the apostolic shield: so that he, who rejoiceth even as the sparrow when she hath found her a nest, may not, by any man's persecution, be driven from it, or in anywise disturbed in it."

And thus, under the protection of this pious and benevolent man, Abelard passed the three later years of his life in peace, dividing his time between devotional exercises, calm studies, and the edification and instruction of the monks, over whom Peter had set him.

At the expiration of the second year, Abelard was sent by Peter, with the hope of recruiting and restoring his shattered health, to the convent of St. Marcel at Châlons on Saône, and there, in the year 1143, in peace and devotion, he ended his days, which to the last were dedicated, as far as his strength allowed, to the inquiry after truth. The abbot Peter gives the following account of his last illness, in a letter to Eloisa:—

"Although Providence, which superintends all human affairs, hath refused *thee* to our wishes, It hath granted to our Clugni thy master Peter, that servant of Christ, and true Christian philosopher; a gift more precious than gold, for I mind not to have seen any who might compare with him in humility—even Germanus and Martinus could not have appeared more lowly and more

chastened in spirit. Ofttimes when, according to custom, he hath passed before me in procession with the monks, I have been lost in astonishment at the self-abasement and self-renunciation of a man so eminent and so distinguished by fame. Uninterrupted were his studies, his prayers were frequent, and his silence was only broken in confidential intercourse with the brethren, or when he was called on to officiate in the service of the sanctuary. In a word—his spirit, his conversation, and his actions, ever displayed somewhat of Divine things, of philosophy, and of learning." . . . (The remainder refers to his last residence at Châlons.) "As long as his health permitted, he pursued his former studies, and was ever to be found at his books. Every moment of time was employed either in reading or writing, or in prayer. In these blessed occupations he was found by Him who visiteth all men, not asleep but watching, and led by means of a short illness to his end. All the monks were witnesses of the piety and orthodoxy with which he recited first the creed, then his confession of sins; and all will testify that, with the devotion of a longing heart, he received the body of our Redeemer, as the preparation for eternity; committing to Him his body and soul in full faith, now and for ever. And thus departed to Christ we trust, a man who after being known and famed throughout the whole world for his learning, waited in meekness and lowliness in the school of Him who hath said, 'Learn of Me, for I am meek and lowly of heart[1].'"

[1] "The last letter of Abelard to Eloisa," says Milner, "certainly does not furnish any clue to the Christian repentance, which the charity of the Venerable Peter kindly supposed: "You have been the victim of my love, I would now have you become the victim of my penitence. Accomplish faithfully what God requires of you. It is the triumph of his great-

Abelard, thus thrust aside by his enemies from the stage of public exhibition, had ended his days unnoticed, and therefore unmolested by the world. But the influence of a really great man is not a mere adjunct of his personality and inseparably connected therewith. The burning words of truth once uttered, inflame heart after heart, and probably work results greater in degree, or different in kind, from any that were ever contemplated by their truth-inspired speaker.

Among the thousands of youths and young men who listened with wondering veneration to the teaching of the great master, there were many who only observed the quickness of his intellect, and the acuteness of his logic,

ness to find in man no other foundation for His mercy than our weakness. In order to put an end to our misfortunes He expects nothing more from us, but contrite and penitent hearts. Let our penitence then be as public as was our crime. We afford a melancholy example of an ill-regulated youth. Let us now show both to the present age and to posterity, that the reparation we have made for our deviations, has deserved the pardon of them. . . . . If I have corrupted your mind, endangered your salvation, injured your fair fame, and deprived you of your honour, forgive me, and let the spirit of Christian compassion throw a veil over the injuries I have done you. Providence would fain save us. Let us not oppose its designs. Write to me no more, Eloisa. This is the last letter you will receive from me; but wherever I may die, I have ordered that my remains may be conveyed to the Paraclete. I shall not then need prayers and tears; you will then look upon me in order to strengthen your piety; and my decaying body, more eloquent than myself, will tell you what it is we set our hearts on, when we have set them upon man."

In this strange jumble of regret and vanity and sentiment, where are the traces of the Christian's repentance, or the Christian's hope? "The body of Abelard, after reposing with that of Eloisa at the Paraclete, and undergoing several vicissitudes of sepulture, was finally removed with hers to Paris, 1800: their tomb is an object of curiosity at the cemetery of Père-la-Chaise."

and whose only object was to learn from him the art of disputation; others there were who would fain follow him in all the depths and heights of his philosophical speculations; but *one* warm-hearted and ardent youth seized that which was most divine in his doctrines and in his life, that genuine religious and moral spirit which strove against the degeneracy of the clergy and the corruptions of the Church. This was a youth from the city of Brescia in the Tyrol, Arnold by name. After having been admitted into the lowest of the clerical offices as lector[2], he had visited France, (17) then the centre of all learning, in order to secure the literary acquirements becoming his station. He attended on Abelard's teaching, and, like the rest of his disciples, led an ascetic life, seeking, like their master, rather to satisfy the cravings of the spirit, than to minister to their personal necessities. When Abelard represented the directing of the abstracted spirit to the contemplation of the Divine and Eternal, as the necessary peculiarity of a monk; when in the lives of the Apostles he drew the portrait of

[2] The lectors or readers do not appear to have been instituted till the third century. They were generally computed among the clergy, and were ordained with the usual solemnities of what were called the inferior orders, the only exception on record being in the Church of Alexandria, where catechumens were put into the office. Their duty was to read the lessons from the "*pulpitum*" or reading-desk, in the body of the Church. In the appropriate ordination service, the reader was exhorted to "deliver the words of God, devoutly, clearly, and distinctly, in the high-place of the Church, that you may be heard and seen by all, typifying by your bodily position, that you ought to be conversant with a high degree of virtue."

After the time of Justinian no one could be ordained a reader before he had completed his 18th year. St. Chrysostom began his career as a reader. See Bingham's Antiquities, book iii. chap. 5. "Pontificale Romanum," &c.

genuine Christian teachers; when he referred the Church to her proper spiritual influence, and transported in these moments of pious zeal beyond the limits of the Church system, forgot its restraints; then did his words imprint themselves deeply on Arnold's mind. He recognized in the Gospel, to which Abelard constantly referred, the original destination of the Church founded by Christ; he embraced with ardent desire the image presented in the apostolic writings of the activity of the Apostles and the lives of the primitive Christians, and this served to augment his displeasure when he beheld the degeneracy of the clergy, and the corruptions of the Church from its connection with the world; a connection so entirely foreign to its destination. He went beyond his teacher in his controversy with the Church; the ardour of his disposition, which was his predominating quality, rendering him bolder and more free. For him the practical had more attractions than the speculative. He was indeed less capable than Abelard of taking a clear view of the difficulties opposed to the realization of the Ideal, which filled his mind; of effecting his purposes by successive steps. Possessed by the idea of a genuine Christian Church, working only by spiritual means, and for spiritual ends, he sought its realization, and would fain have overthrown whatever of godless and earthly opposed this realization.

The age was in some measure prepared for the reception of these ideas; the disputes, (18) disturbing alike to Church and State, which had been perpetuated through half a century between both in general, and between the pope and the Emperor in particular, had had the beneficial result of causing a more accurate investigation of the proper limits and the special objects of the temporal and spiritual power; so that on the one hand, whatever of heterogeneous the Church (then the only

educating and educated body) had in these rude times appropriated, and on the other, whatever the State had unjustly usurped, came into discussion. The study of Roman jurisprudence, now revived with such ardent enthusiasm, had led alike to an examination into the rights of the temporal power, and the usurpations of the Church.

Arnold returned to his native country a new man; he separated himself from the secular clergy, and appeared in the garb of a monk. The innocency and austerity of his mode of life was never impeached, even by his adversaries; although they were wont to speak of it as a hypocritical mask, assumed by him in order the more readily to gain admittance for his heretical doctrines (19). With glowing eloquence he openly opposed to the worldly and vicious lives of the clergy and monks, the doctrines and examples of the Bible, and ascribed the corruptions of the Church to their having overstepped the boundaries of their real influence and peculiar jurisdiction, to appropriate to themselves the wealth, honours, and privileges of the court. He declared that the monks and the clergy ought to live together after the model of the Apostles, in the communion of love, and to abandon all temporal possessions; that the abbots and bishops should resign all their temporalities and regalities, all worldly rank and jurisdiction, to their respective sovereigns, by whom the wealth which the clergy had (to their own prejudice) abused to the purposes of luxury and sensuality, was to be administered for the benefit of their people. The first-fruits and the tithes of the agricultural produce he would have assigned as most suitable for the support of the clergy in the bare necessaries of life; which, if they devoted themselves entirely to the duties of their calling, would be all they would desire. (20) Arnold, who was chiefly anxious about *practical*

Christianity, does not seem to have opposed farther the dogmas of his Church; but it is probable that his practical *mysticism* might have led him, (when speaking against the ceremonial worship as prejudicial to the religion of the heart,) into an actual or apparent deviation from the form of the Church-teaching. Thus it might be, that in urging genuine conversion of the heart, he maintained that *mere outward baptism was in and of itself* inefficacious to man, unless connected with that *alone effectual baptism of the Holy Ghost*, through which the truly believing soul is purified and sanctified; that man was not reconciled to God by the outward participation of the Lord's Supper, but by that internal faith of the soul through which by receiving Christ into it, man becomes united with Him in his heart, and manifests this union by a holy life. Arnold's animated discourses captivated the minds of those men who were as yet insensible of the vivifying power of religion, through the fault of the very ministers appointed to proclaim it, and their displeasure naturally fell upon those to whom the key of knowledge had been intrusted, and who entered not in themselves, and hindered those who would have entered. The clergy became the objects of general odium and derision: the magic pomp of the priests no longer made any impression on the people. There might, indeed, according to the usual course of human events, be a mingling of impure motives with the purity of Arnold's purposes; the principle so loudly asserted by him, that all temporal possessions ought to be restored by the Church to the State, to which they belonged, might indeed allure the desires of the covetous, and particularly of the great.

The bishop of Brescia, when he found the formidable consequences resulting to the Church from Arnold's

agency, accused him as a disturber of the public peace, at the council held by Innocent at Rome, in the year 1139. The pope enjoined him silence, and banished him from Italy; and he was forced to bind himself by an oath not to return to that country during the life-time of this pope without his express permission. That his doctrine was not on this occasion expressly condemned, that no sentence of excommunication was pronounced against him, is a proof that no particular charge of heresy could be fixed upon him. He returned to France just at the time when Abelard was hotly attacked by his enemies, and this circumstance did but cause him to adhere the more zealously to his old master, whose disinterested boldness in asserting the cause of truth he regarded as the origin of his persecutions. He thus drew upon himself the same odium that Abelard had incurred, and Bernard denounced him to the pope as Abelard's especial armour-bearer and herald. He incurred the same sentence as his teacher, being like him excommunicated and condemned to imprisonment in a convent. In Abelard's case, the sentence had been made void by the humane arrangement of the abbot Peter of Clugni; but the youthful Arnold, stimulated by fiery zeal, was little disposed thus to seek rest and peace by silence and retirement (21). Not one among the French bishops was found who would put the sentence against Arnold into execution; and being driven out of France, and repairing to the neighbouring country of Switzerland, he found an asylum at Zurich, where his presence was tolerated by the bishop of Constance, in whose diocese this city was. Even the papal legate, the Cardinal Guido a Castellis, a friend of Abelard, a pious man, and one capable of appreciating pious zeal, received the excommunicated Arnold, and made him his

confidential associate. Here Bernard still pursued him with his letters.

"What is the meaning of this?" he writes to the legate[3], "to make void the papal sentence?—a sentence the justice of which the life of the sentenced amply testifies; so that no one need say it has been *surreptitiously* obtained from the pope: and yet that the papal legate should admit him to his confidence,—should hold frequent discourse with him,—should even seat him at his table,—must give rise to the suspicion of his favouring him,—must needs put powerful weapons into the hands of his adversary. Boldly will he now propound his tenets, and readily, as the private and confidential friend of the legate, will he find admittance for all that he chooses; for who would suspect any evil from the side of the pope; or, even if he were to propose any manifest error, who would dare to oppose it in the man who is ever at your right hand?"

Bernard hoped by this letter to have opened the eyes of the legate, but it had no effect whatever in altering his relations with Arnold, whose discourses were very influential in Zurich. We now lose sight of him for some years, but his principles had already produced an effect independent of his personal influence. These had become well known at Rome, through the papal condemnation, and had excited great attention. The vision which still floated before the eye of Roman pride, of the Cæsar seated as ruler of the world, in the midst of the senate of their eternal city, accorded but ill with the dominion of the priest, who admitted only priests to his council, and excluded the nobles from all share in the government; and already had these nobles been engaged

[3] Ep. 194.

in frequent strife with the popes. Arnold's position, that the influence of the priesthood was only a spiritual influence, with which all temporal rule and dominion were absolutely inconsistent, exactly met their views. An event which occurred at this time tended to render the papal government still more odious to the Romans.

Innocent had made peace with their mortal enemies, the Tiburtines, without imposing the hard conditions dictated by their hatred. Displeased at this, the Romans decided upon throwing off the papal yoke altogether. They took the Capitol by assault, summoned a senate to conduct the government of the city, and to recommence hostilities against the Tiburtines; all the efforts of the pope to arrest their proceedings, either by persuasion or menaces, were ineffectual; and during these commotions Innocent died, in the year 1144. The urgent necessity for the power and influence of a supreme ruler to repress this rebellious movement, hastened the cardinals beyond their wont in the election of a successor, and private interest was forgotten in the common danger. Their unanimous choice fell upon a man whose moderation and gentleness had procured for him the particular love and veneration of the Roman people. This was the Cardinal Guido, the friend of Abelard and Arnold, who now assumed the name of Celestin the Second. He fulfilled the general expectation by restoring peace and order. On this occasion Peter of Clugni addressed a congratulatory epistle to him [4], expressive of his sympathy.

"This hath neither been brought about by inhuman pride, by self-seeking covetousness, nor by that notorious party-spirit of Rome, by which the whole world is in

[4] Lib. iv. ep. 18.

general convulsed: it is the work of that Spirit, who by His gentle influences reconciles adversaries, and unites separatists. Our heart overflows with joy, when we find that the cause of God has been asserted,—not by warlike weapons,—not by menacing armies,—but that peace has been re-established solely by the gentle carefulness of the God of all mercy."

The whole conduct of this pope is marked by peace. King Lewis the Seventh of France, who had been continually embroiled with his predecessor, respecting the election of an archbishop of Bourges, now dispatched an embassy to Celestin, to seek reconciliation with the Church. The ambassadors were most graciously received by the pope, in full consistory; he arose from his throne, and with outstretched hands made the sign of the cross in the direction of France, in order to relieve the land from the interdict.

After this Bernard solicited his good offices to mediate peace between the king and the Count Theobald, which he was enabled to effect in the following year, and thus became the benefactor of great part of the kingdom of France. But Celestin was not permitted to fulfil the hopes which the manner of his elevation, and his subsequent conduct had inspired: he died, after a reign of five months, in the year 1144. The unquiet spirit which thereupon manifested itself afresh among the people, again hurried the cardinals in their choice of a successor: it fell upon the Cardinal Gerard, who took the name of Lucius the Second.

The storms which the gentle Celestin had hushed to peace broke out anew, and shortly after his death we find the energetic man, whose discourses had wrought these results, making his appearance openly at Rome. After the decease of Pope Innocent, Arnold of Brescia,

believing himself relieved from his oath, either came at once to Rome, on hearing of the accession of his friend the Cardinal Guido, and his presence at this time has escaped the notice of historians, because he deemed it unnecessary to offer any public opposition, convinced that his friend would act in a very different way from his predecessors,—would not abuse the extraneous power connected with the papacy, and would use all his endeavours to purify the Church; or he did not repair to Rome till after the death of Celestin, because the same motives precluded the necessity of any earlier operations. Immediately on the breaking out of the troubles, we find him in Rome, where the disposition of the people and the weakness of the newly-elected pope inspired an ardent hope of effecting something towards the realization of his great project. This project coincided well with the purposes of the Romans, though these had originated in very different ideas. While the images of ancient times (as represented by Abelard, for individual study of history was not to be expected in that age) passed in *ideal* forms before his mental vision, it appeared to him that it was through the usurpations of the Church in temporal matters, that the Roman Empire had lost its power and greatness, and the Church its purity and its *spiritual* character. Hope showed him both societies re-established in their original relations towards each other, so that the Church, the object nearest his heart, would, by the restoration of the throne of the Cæsars to Rome, by becoming subservient, resume that position in which she operates most powerfully, through her own inherent efficacy, on the human mind. Arnold inflamed the Romans still more by reproving, from the Bible, the ambition of the popes and the vices of the Romish court: he pointed, as the source of all this corruption, to the tem-

poral dominion which the popes had arrogated to themselves, and which he declared to be as little consistent with *their* position as with that of the clergy in general. They also ought to live on the offerings of the congregation. Stimulated by his harangues, the Romans established themselves in the possession of the Capitol, determined on reviving their ancient Roman constitution, the senate and the equestrian order, and invited the Emperor Konrad to repair to Rome, and there set up the seat of his empire. The following is a portion of their letter to him :—

"Our most strenuous efforts are directed towards the exaltation and aggrandizement of the Roman empire, confided by God to your government; we desire nothing more ardently than to restore it to the position which it occupied under the Emperors Constantine and Justinian, who governed the whole world by the power of their senate, and the arm of their Roman people. To this end, we have, by the grace of God, replaced the senate, and succeeded in putting down the greater part of those who are inimical to your authority, in order that we may obtain all that is due for Cæsar and for the Roman empire. To effect this, we have laid down a good principle; we admit all who desire it, into league and peace with us; we have occupied the palaces of those nobles, who with the Sicilians and the pope resist your authority, demolishing some, and retaining others in your name. For all this, which we have done in truth and loyalty towards you, we are attacked on all sides by the pope, with the Frangipani and others, in order to hinder us from placing the imperial crown upon your head. But since no labour is too hard for love, we joyfully suffer all, out of love to you and to your honour, in the full confidence that you as our father will recompense us accord-

ingly, and avenge us of our enemies. Let us not be beguiled in this hope, and if any evil report of us should reach your ears, believe it not; for the men who speak ill of us to your majesty, would rejoice to sow divisions between us, (which God avert,) in order thus craftily to subdue us both. But this snare your royal majesty will avoid, remembering the many and great evils which your predecessors have suffered from the papal court, as well as from our fellow-citizens the Frangipani, who now, in league with the Sicilians, seek to do you still greater injuries: but we have driven them out of the city as the bitterest enemies of the kingdom. Come then, with your royal might, for you can have all that you desire at Rome, and to sum up all in a word, you may now erect your imperial throne in the chief city of the world, ruling over Italy and the Germanic empire, released from all opposition of the spirituality, better and more freely than ever your predecessors have done." They concluded their letter with these words, "Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, unto the priests that which is the priests', as Christ commanded, and as Peter paid tribute."

Arnold placed too much confidence in the enthusiasm of the fickle and light-minded Romans, which did not in general, like his, originate in the purest of motives; and he did not possess sufficient calmness to estimate the power of purposes originating in temporary circumstances, on the minds of men [5]. The Emperor Konrad regarded the inflated language of the Roman people as idle talk,

[5] Thirty of the followers of Arnold passed over from France to England in 1160, in order to propagate the doctrines of their master, but they were immediately seized and put to death. Arnold, says Chalmers, "was one of those Reformers who make no distinction between use and abuse."

and received the embassy dispatched by the pope to solicit his protection, in the most respectful manner.

Pope Lucius, anxious to reduce the Romans to obedience by force, assembled a numerous body of armed men, and attacked the capitol; but was repulsed, and received a severe wound from a stone in the struggle, from the effects of which he died, within one year of his elevation, in the spring of 1148 (22)[6].

[6] According to Godfrey of Viterbo, and Act. Vatican. ap. Baron. ad a. 1145, N. 1.

NOTES TO CHAPTER II.

(1) Leo Frangipani, who sought the elevation of Lambert of Ostia to the papal dignity, had at that time used all his efforts to prevent an early assemblage of the cardinals, whose custom it was to meet within three days of the death of the pope, to proceed to a canonical election. He also artfully persuaded the chaplain of each cardinal to robe his master, without his knowledge, in the episcopal red robe (pluviale), in which the newly-elected popes were obliged to make their appearance, beneath his black mantle (cappa), so that by this manœuvre each might have hopes of obtaining the tiara. Vid. Vit. Honor. papæ. Ex MS. Pandulphi Pisani, ap. Muratori, Script. Rer. Italicar. t. iii. p. 421.

(2) I follow here the parallel and contemporary notices of the Abbé Suger, in Vita Ludovici grossi, ap. du Chesne, Script. Franc. page 317, and of the Chronic. Mauriniac. ibid. page 376. The first says:—"Ecclesiæ Romanæ majores ac sapientiores ad renovandum ecclesiæ tumultum consensisse apud S. Marcum et nonnisi Romano more celebram fieri electionem." Then of the friends of Innocent:—"Qui assiduitate et familiaritate propiores apostolicis fuerunt." The second yet more plainly:—"Cardinales qui cum Cancellario ibi aderant et Honorio infirmanti assederunt timore tumultuantium Romanorum illuc convenire non audentes." And still more plainly:—"Ut Petrum quendam, qui seculariter ad papatum videbatur aspirare, spe sua frustrarent—antequam publicaretur domini papæ decessus, &c." It is also clear, from the writings of the vehement Arnulph Sagiens. de Schismate, ap. Muratori, t. iii. p. 428. lit. E. that Innocent's election was forced on hastily, in order to exclude Petrus Leonis. Let this be compared with the letter of the cardinal Peter di Porto, the most eminent of the partizans of Anaclet:—"Neglecto ordine, con-

tempto canone, spreto etiam ipso a vobis condito anathemate me inconsulto priore vestro cum essetis novitii et paucissimi," &c. ap. Baron. Annal. ad a. 1130. N. viii." The most certain and detailed information concerning Petrus Leonis and his family is to be found in Chronic. Mauriniac. l. c. Petrus Leonis had studied at the university of Paris. After his return from Italy, he became a monk at Clugni: he was made cardinal by Calixtus the Second, and dispatched as legate to France. That he was held in great esteem there, appears from the circumstance of the celebrated Peter, abbot of Vendome, having dedicated to him his Treatise on Investitures. The character given of him by his vehement and eager opponent Arnulph Sagiens. is, of course, not to be trusted. That Petrus Leonis had plundered the churches, and caused the valuable church plate to be melted down, in order to distribute the amount, when coined, in presents and bribes, is asserted by all the partizans of Innocent, and is mentioned as a well-known fact in a letter addressed by Bernard to the Romans themselves. Peter de Porto, on the other side, says coldly in the letter quoted above, "Deprædationem illam et crudelitatem quam prætenditis non videmus." There must, however, be some historical truth at the bottom of the oft-repeated and unanimous accusation: at all events, it is certain that Petrus Leonis had made use of illegal means to attain the papal office; that, on the contrary, the election of Innocent, though it was not exactly canonical, was yet, on the whole, more decorous and regular. It is also greatly in Innocent's favour that his adversaries could never bring any personal accusations against his character, but were obliged to confine themselves entirely to criminating the heads of his party.

(3) Compare Arnulph Sagiens. l. c. and the letter of Anaclet, Baronius, l. c.

(4) The journey of the pope, on which he had made a delay of some days between Chartres and Luttich, is most amply and accurately described in Chronic. Mauriniac. Suger says of the council of Etampes, that the king had permitted the investigation to be made—"magis de persona quam de electione (fit enim sæpe ut Romanorum tumultuantium quibuscumque molestiis ecclesiæ electio minus ordinarie fieri valeat").

(5) This is related by Orderic. Vital. Hist. Eccles. (ap. du Chesne, Script. Norman.) ad h. a. Peter de Clugni himself says of his own accord to this pope, l. ii. ep. 2.:—"Inter studia partium, inter divisiones cordium, exerto semper gladio quantum

personæ vel officii mei qualitas patiebatur, semper perstiti, nec illum unquam a sanguine etiam carissimorum cum necesse fuit prohibui. Quoscunque mihi et Cluniacensi ecclesiæ qualibet amicitia junctos reges et principes, nobiles et ignobiles cognovi, hos majestatis vestræ pedibus subdere per meipsum sive per alios loquendo, scribendo, mandando, terrendo, mulcendo pro posse non distuli." "Sit ubicunque," writes he to the same, l. i. ep. 1. "habitatio vestra, manebit ubique vobiscum obedientia et devotio nostra, quoniam et secundum poetam: Vejos habitante Camillo Illic Roma fuit."

(6) This was the basis of the arguments used by Gerard, bishop of Angoulême, as we find from Arnulph Sagiens.; and it was not altogether irrelevant, for Orderic. Vital. ad a. 1130, relates that the pope had this year travelled through France, with the Romish officers and hangers-on of his court, to the great grievance of the French Church.

(7) This letter is to be found in Baronius, Annal. ad a. 1130, v. 25.

(8) V. Otto Frising. Chronicon, l. iii. cap. 18, p. 149, ap. Urstis. Vit. Bernard. per Ernald. Abbat. cap. i. § 5. Suger, p. 318, and Chron. Maurin. p. 377, lit. B., only mention the honourable reception by the emperor. With regard to this quarrel between the pope and the emperor, Bernard thus wrote to the pope, ep. 150:—"Sed nec Leodii cervicibus imminens mucro barbaricus (vos) compulit acquiescere importunis improbisque postulationibus iracundi atque irascentis regis." When Innocent made his public entrance into Paris, amid an innumerable and motley crowd of all ranks and orders, the Jews also advanced to meet him, and presented him with a copy of their law, covered with a veil. The pope received it graciously, with these words, "Auferat Deus omnipotens velamen a cordibus vestris." (May the Almighty take away the veil from your hearts.)

(9) V. Ord. Vital. the same. "In hujusmodi schismate anathema formidandum est, quod difficulter præcaveri potest, dum unus alium summopere oppugnat contrariumque sibi cum fautoribus feraliter anathematizat; sic nimirum quisque ad id quod agere appetit, sed impossibilitate præpeditus ad effectum perducere nequit, sua saltem imprecatione Deum contra æmulum suum expetit." A certain abbot, Reimbald of Luttich, distinguished himself by his moderation during these mutual persecutions. A circular (rotulus) being dispatched to the abbots and clergy, to

announce to them the death of the Abbot Hervens, and to invite them, according to the custom of the times, to pray for his soul, the adherents of the rival popes took this opportunity of launching out into mutual invectives, and of declaring that it was impossible for them to unite in the performance of religious offices. The Abbot Reimbald, in a postscript appended to the circular, protests against the conduct of those who, by their precipitancy, had occasioned these melancholy divisions in the Church, which they should rather have prevented by a calm investigation of the claims of the opposing candidates. "Miserum est, si schisma hoc effecit ignorantia; miserius an crudelius sit nescio, si efficit invidia. Vide quæso quantæ sit hoc præsumptionis et audaciæ, hac confusione, hoc errore jam pene tota ecclesia quasi phrenesi quadam circumfertur in tantum, ut cum orant religione immo religioni finitima superstitione, nec loco alius alium velit admittere." V. Baron. l. c. N. 40.

(10) Cf. particularly Vit. B. laudat. c. vi. N. 32. Arnulph. Sag. c. v. Bernard. ep. 126. Long before this division, Peter of Vendome, l. i. ep. 21. had complained of the venality, the pride, and the boundless ambition of the legate Gerard.

(11) This hesitation of Innocent to receive the proposal of Petrus Leonis, may have laid the foundation of the narrative of Ordericus Vitalis, who was a Norman, and but ill-informed on the affairs of Italy, ad a. 1133; that the Emperor Lothaire had himself invited Petrus Leonis to make a formal renunciation of the papal dignity, or to submit himself to the decision of a council; that Petrus Leonis had consented to the last expedient, but Innocent only on condition that he was first put in full possession of all the adjuncts of the papal office; that the emperor's displeasure at this hesitation had induced him to leave Petrus Leonis quietly in possession of his power, and to withdraw from Rome. But this is in direct contradiction to all other credible testimony, according to which the emperor was led to retire from Rome, after his first entrance, by the inefficiency of his power, and by the state of his political relations in Germany. The most convincing evidence is that of the emperor's own letter, in which he relates the progress of the affair. He states, that "on his first approach to Rome, Petrus Leonis had dispatched many ambassadors to meet him, with complaints that his opponents were proceeding inimically against him, although he was ready to submit to a friendly examination." To this Innocent's friends had

replied, that the decision of the whole Church having been declared, there was no possibility of any such examination. Innocent, however, at last gave way to the repeated instances of Petrus Leonis, and declared himself willing to commit his dominions to the emperor's care. Now was it clearly proved that the purpose of Petrus Leonis was only to deceive and to gain time, and he was accordingly recognized as a public enemy by the emperor and the princes. V. Mansi, Act. Concil. p. 483.

(12) As Mabillon has justly remarked, the discourse which has come down to us is certainly not Bernard's. The particulars of this matter are explained in a letter, by which the editor has prefaced this discourse, in Paez. Codex Diplom. and wherein he says, "that it was impossible for him to recal to mind exactly all that Bernard had uttered in his presence fifteen years before," and that he could only relate its order and purport. (Mansi, A. C. t. xxi. pag. 467.) He therefore makes use of quotations collected from the works of Bernard (unless Eugenius is an error of the press for Innocent, Mansi, l. c.); and if this be proved by reference to Paez, whom I cannot at this instant consult, the speech must have been delivered at the council of Rheims, held by Eugenius the Third. It is fine to see the popes, even when driven from the seat of their power, and engaged in contesting its possession, still attentive to the moral and religious wants of the nations. Thus, in all the councils held by Innocent during his peregrinations, we find him making repeated ordinances against the abuses prevailing in the Church, and in society; for instance, against the Clerici conducticii, the Simonics, and especially against the means whereby unfit persons forced themselves into ecclesiastical offices; against the inordinate pomp and luxury of the clerical dress; against the sanguinary tournaments (whosoever lost his life in these was to be deprived of Christian burial); against those who caused conflagrations, through hatred and revenge—a case which must have been of frequent occurrence. Those who had taken part in such modes of vengeance were to be excommunicated, and were not allowed to receive absolution till they had made compensation to the utmost of their power, and done penance; for the protection of all merchants, peasants, travellers, and strangers, and for the observance of the truce of God,—an ordinance so useful in that age of might against right. The journeys to which the popes were so frequently compelled by the turbulence of the Romans, thus turned to the advantage of the

nations among which they travelled; the popes became better acquainted with the state of the churches and countries, their ordinances had greater effect from the influence of their personal authority; their synods were attended by bishops and distinguished clergy of other countries, by whom, on their return, these laws were dispersed among their fellow-countrymen. It is true, indeed, that they took effect but slowly, and by degrees. Order. Vit. ad 1139, on the Lateran council. "Apostolica decreta passim per regna divulgata sunt; sed nihil, ut manifeste patet, oppressis et opem desiderantibus profuerunt, quoniam a principibus et optimatibus regnorum et subjectis plebibus parvipensa sunt."

(13) See particularly Otto Frising. l. vii. c. 17. In consequence of the small force that the emperor was able to bring into the field, and of the general inadequacy of his means, Bernard addressed an epistle (138) to Henry, king of England, to entreat the assistance of that monarch. "In ingressu urbis sumus, salus est in januis, justitia nobiscum est, sed Romanis militibus cibus iste non sapit. Itaque justitia placamus Deum, militia terremus hostem, solis necessariis necessaria non habemus." This letter of Bernard's affords conclusive evidence of his having accompanied the pope on his first journey, since it can only apply to the first advance of the emperor. Cf. Pagi ad a. 1134. N. 12. V. Otto Frising. l. vii. c. 17; Landulph. junior, Hist. Mediolan. c. 38. ap. Muratori, Script. Ital. vii. The important passages relating to these, and to the following events, in Landulphus, are also to be met with in Baron and Pagi, ad a. h. copiously in Ughelli Italia Sacra, in the volume of Milan, under the heads of "Anselm" and "Ribauld," archbishops, or ed. ii. Coleti, Venet. 1719. t. iv. pag. 136 et seqq. cf. Vit. B. laud. c. ii. et seqq. The sicknesses which Bernard healed must have been mostly nervous disorders, delirium (which at that time was generally supposed to proceed from demoniacal influence), and fevers. Besides the archbishopric of Milan, Bernard had also refused the bishoprics of Genoa, Langres, Châlons sur Saône, and the archbishopric of Rheims. V. l. c. Vit. Ber. c. iv. § 26. "Jam divulgatum erat ubique abbatem sic statutum in ecclesia Dei, sicut in Hebræorum populo Moses fuit, qui quum non esset pontifex, Aaron tamen unxit et sacravit pontificem, et dispositionibus ejus tota Levitica omni tempore successio paruit." Among Bernard's letters is one (134), directed to those Milanese of distinguished rank who had united to devote themselves to the monkish life, and had requested Ber-

nard's advice and direction: this letter, as it appears from its tenor, was written before the council of Pisa. In his ep. 137, Bernard also entreats the intercession of the Empress Richiza, in order to obtain favourable conditions from the emperor for the Milanese. In Genoa Bernard also restored peace (ep. 129). Indeed, he states that in one day he had effected all that he desired. "Exsulibus, captivis, compeditis, et incarceratis, evadendi atque repatriandi lætam reportavimus spem." He subsequently warns them against receiving any ambassadors from Duke Roger. "Juxta illud poetæ, ut verum fateor semper timui: Danaos et dona ferentes." He also gave them wise counsel as to the means of preserving peace and quiet in their republic. "Si quis forte deprehendatur manum extendere ad turpe lucrum, hunc protinus notate et judicate hostem nominis vestri, civium proditorem, ac venditorem communis honoris et honestatis. Si quis item susurro in populo, jurgia seminare et pacem turbare velle reperiatur, huic rigidæ censuræ remedio citius obvietur eo quippe pessimæ quo intimæ pesti."

(14) It was while on his journey into Aquitaine, in order to assist at the adjustment of the schism in the Church, and when he was occupied with other affairs of great importance, that Peter of Clugni wrote to his friend the monk Peter those glorious words, so characteristic of the man, who, instead of carrying with him to the cloister, as others had done, the desires and covetous longings of the world, had found the true spiritual peace, which is not of the world, and is beyond its influence. "Vellem certe secundum Esaiam meipsum abscondere a facie formidinis Domini et quærere mihi locum non solum spiritualem, sed etiam corporalem. Sed si non detur vel quousque detur, æmulemus eum, qui inter populorum frequentias et regales epulas et armatos parietes dicebat, Ecce elongavi fugiens et mansi in solitudine, Ps. liv. Et velut intra septa montium, sic intra arcana cordium nobis solitudines ædificemus, ubi a veris mundi contemptoribus vera tantum eremus invenitur, ubi nullus externus admittitur, ubi mundanorum tumultuum turbo fragorque sopitur, ubi sine ullo corporeæ vocis sono in sibilo auræ tenuis vox Dei loquentis auditur; ad hanc solitudinem dum sumus in hoc corpore et peregrinamus a Domino, in medio quoque turbarum positi, assidue recurramus, et quod in extremis orbis finibus quæreremus, in nobismetipsis (nam et regnum Dei intra nos est) inveniamus." Petri Cluniac. l. ii. ep. 22.

(15) See Vit. B. C. vi. N. 5. ibid. § 40. Otto Frising. Chron. l. vii. c. 29. and compare the following, cap. vii. Vit. laud. B. with Falco Beneventan. ad a. 1136 and 1137. That Bernard paid his first visit to Rome in 1137, after Innocent had made his entrance in that city, is clear from the narrative of his biographer. I add his own account of the restoration of peace, § 48:—" Processiones per ecclesias sollenniter celebrantur, depositis armis ad audiendum verbum Domini plebes concurrunt. post multifarias egestates in brevi civitas opulenta refloret; quæ discordiæ tempore distractæ fuerant, pax solidata reducit et revocat, arantur solitudines et deserta pinguescunt." Bernard expresses his joy at the restoration of peace to the Church, in a letter to his friend Peter the Venerable, ep. 147.

(16) See William a Nungis. Chron. t. iii. d'Achery, Spicileg. and Robert a Monte ad a. 1142 and 1143. The pope's words were,—" Puerum coërcendum et instruendum, ne talibus assuescat." Peter of Clugni also endeavoured to soften the pope, by representing to him the prejudicial results that would in all probability spring out of this quarrel with the young king about the archbishopric of Bourges, l. iv. ep. 3. " Ad hæc," writes Bernard to the Cardinal Stefano, of the king, ep. 224, § 4, " cogit suo more episcopos ad maledicendum benedicendis et iterum benedicendum maledicendis; et quoniam non obtemperatur pro suo libitu sibi, circuit mare et aridum, ut inveniat paratos, quorum perjuriis quos fortasse Deus conjungit per homines separentur." The contemporary, Otto Frising. l. vii. cap. 21, describes the misery that this war occasioned in France:—" Francia ob Ludovici ac Theobaldi guerram tot prædiis et incendiis perpessa est discrimina, quod nisi religiosorum, qui ibi morabantur, meritis, orationibus, et consilio nuper pacata fuisset, ad internecionem deleta putaretur." For Theobald, v. Vit. B. 1. c. C. viii. l. 4. auctore Gaufrido, c. 3. " monachi et conversi inutiles ejus milites et balistarii dicebantur." On some occasions, when several bishops were assembled, and were discussing the misfortunes of the count, one of great authority among them said, " The count is in the king's power, and there is none who can save him." Another rejoined, " Not so; for verily there is One who could save him—the Lord God Almighty." " Yea," replied the first, angrily, " Si manifestus appareat, si clavum teneat, hinc inde percutiat, sed hactenus ista non fecit." (" If, indeed, He be pleased to show Himself, and to lift up His sceptre, He can smite

from one end of the earth to the other; but this He hath not hitherto been wont to do.")

Bernard administered to the count the consolations of religion, and comforted him with the example of Job. Moved by this kindness, Thibaut ordered two costly flagons, the gift of his uncle, the king of England, to be melted down, the precious stones with which they were richly set to be sold, and the produce devoted to the foundation of monasteries (dilecta Domino super aurum et topazion tabernacula).

Additional note on Bernard's stay in Milan.

It must have been during his residence at Milan at this time that Bernard is said to have given a settled rule, at their own particular request, to the associated brethren of the Humiliati, and thus united them in a regular and monkish community. These Humiliati, or fratres de conveniâ (so called from their mode of assembling), derived their origin, in the eleventh century, from a society of affluent and distinguished Milanese, who, being awakened to repentance by exile from their native land, devoted themselves to a life of piety, industry, and mortification, in which they had persevered after their return to their own country. In order to distinguish his proselytes from those of the earlier association, which was unfettered by any rule, Bernard had assigned to them the name of Tertius Ordo, or, as it was called, Secundus Ordo—Humiliatorum. This is the account left us by the chroniclers of the end of the thirteenth century, but they are of doubtful credit, and the circumstance has farther difficulties, which render it very problematical. Perhaps we shall not be far from the truth, if we suppose that, as Bernard's appearance at Milan had been the means of calling many to repentance and newness of life, and had excited an extraordinary ascetical enthusiasm, from his extreme and well-known partiality to conventical associations, the order of Humiliati* had thus received a great increase of members. This affair is copiously treated in Vetera Humiliatorum Monumenta annotationibus ac dissertationibus illustrata, auct. Hieronym. Tiraboschio, vol. i. 1766. Mediolani, Dissert. 2.

* This order acquired great wealth, was subsequently abolished by Pope Pius the Fifth, in the year 1570, on account of the cruelty and luxuriousness of its members; and the houses belonging to it, no less than ninety in number, were assigned to the Cordeliers and Dominicans.—M. W.

Bernard's Controversy with Peter Abelard and Arnold of Brescia.

(1) Augustin's views of the relation between faith and knowledge are most clearly developed in his letter to a certain Consentius, whom Augustin had converted from certain erroneous opinions, and who had written to request his solution of sundry difficulties in the doctrine of the Trinity. "Quia placuit Deo," says Consentius, "qui infirma hujus mundi elegit, ut confunderet fortia, per stultitiam prædicationis salvos facere credentes, non tam ratio requirenda, quam auctoritas est sequenda sanctorum." To this Augustin had replied,—"Vide ergo secundum hæc verba tua ne potius debeas maxime de hac re, in qua præcipue fides nostra consistit, solam sanctorum auctoritatem sequi nec ejus intelligentiæ a me quærere rationem; neque enim cum cœpero te in tanti hujus secreti intelligentiam utcunque introducere, quod, nisi Deus intus adjuverit, omnino non potero, aliud disserendo facturus sum, quam rationem ut potero redditurus. Quam si a me vel a quolibet doctore non irrationabiliter flagitas, ut quod credis intelligas, corrige definitionem tuam, non ut fidem respuas, sed ut ea quæ fidei firmitati jam tenes, etiam rationis luce conspicias. Absit namque ut hoc in nobis Deus oderit, in quo reliquis animantibus excellentiores creavit. Absit, inquam, ne ideo credamus, ut rationem accipiamus seu quæramus, cum etiam credere non possumus, nisi rationales animas haberemus. Ut ergo in quibusdam rebus ad doctrinam salutarem pertinentibus quas ratione nondum percipere valemus, sed aliquando valebimus, fides præcedat rationem, qua cor mundatur, ut magnæ rationis capiat et præferat lucem, hoc utique rationis est. Propterea monet Apostolus Petrus, paratos nos esse debere, ad responsionem omni poscenti nos rationem de fide et spe nostra, quoniam si a me infidelis rationem poscit fidei et spei meæ, et video quod antequam credit capere non potest, hanc ipsam ei reddo rationem in qua si fieri potest videat quod præpostere poscat rationem earum rerum, quas capere non potest. . . . . Non *ideo* quia *ratio* est," says Augustin here of the heresies relating to the Trinity, "sed quia *falsa* ratio est, cavenda et detestanda dicenda est; hoc et de sapientia dicendum est, neque enim propterea sapientia vitanda est quia est et falsa sapientia cui stultitia est Christus crucifixus, qui est Dei virtus et Dei sapientia."—Aug. ep. 222. ed. Bas.

(2) This is alluded to by Glaber Rudolf, l. ii. c. 12. ap. Bou-

quet. t. x. pag. 23. "Quidam Wilgardus nomine, studio artis Grammaticæ magis assiduus quam frequens, sicut Italis mos semper fuit, artes negligere cæteras, illam sectari," &c. Evil spirits having on this night appeared to him in the likeness of Virgil, of Horace, and of Juvenal, and thanked him for the high esteem in which he held their writings, promising him at the same time great subsequent fame, he had become so greatly elated as to assert, quite in opposition to the Catholic faith, "that the words of the poets were to be believed before all other creeds." We learn from this anecdote, given as it is in exact accordance with the spirit of the times, that the man's mind, enlightened by the study of the ancients, had led him to oppose many of the superstitious prejudices of the age; but we have no means of deciding with certainty whether he stopped there, or whether, unable to distinguish between the divine foundation and the human theories and superstitions built upon it, he denied the whole system of revealed religion.

The example of those whose minds had been thus awakened by the study of the ancients must have been very taking, for the historian adds (ad a. 1000 ext.) that in Italy many had been found who clave to these destructive errors, and that they had perished either by the sword or on the scaffold.

(3) Roscelin; and subsequently Abelard, after he had directed his philosophical system of general ideas to the dogma of the Trinity, justified themselves by an appeal to the example of the Jews and Heathen, "who had been called on to defend *their* law, and that therefore it was incumbent on Christians to do the same for their faith." V. Anselm. Cantuariens. de fide Trinitat. et incarnatione Verbi, cap. iii. pag. 43. ed Gerberon. "Insipientissimum est," says Anselm, in reference to Roscelin, "propter unumquemque non intelligentem, quod supra firmam petram solidissime fundatum est in nutantium quæstionum revocare dubietatem; nam Christianus per fidem debet ad intellectum proficere, non per intellectum ad fidem accedere, aut si intelligere non valet, a fide recedere." Yet Lanfranc, Anselm's master, must have been apprehensive that Anselm himself was speculating somewhat over-freely, for he exhorts him, with reference to the Monologue he had sent him, "Quædam solertius appendenda et cum eruditis in sacris codicibus conferenda, et ubi ratio deficit, auctoritatibus accingenda." And Anselm justifies himself by declaring that he had, in the whole treatise, asserted nothing, "nisi quod aut cano-

nicis aut b. Augustini dictis incunctanter posse defendi videremus." V. t. i. ep. 68.

(4) For Abelard's earlier disputes, see ep. 2. Hist. Calamitat. or Boulac. t. ii. Hist. Univers. Paris. The following ideas are drawn from his Introductio in Theologiam, where he expresses himself still more strongly than in the metamorphosed form of his Theologia Christiana, by Martene and Durand, Thes. Nov. Anecdot. t. v. For the connection between faith and knowledge, and particularly the use of philosophy, v. Introd. Theol. Christ. i. ii. et iii.

(5) I adduce the words of Abelard, Introd. L. 7 et 10, ch. i. iii. pag. 1244:—" In tantum vero in ipsa factura sua delectatur Deus, ut frequenter ipsis rerum naturis quas creavit se figurari magis quam verbis nostris, quæ nos confinximus et invenimus, exprimi velit, et magis in ipsa rerum similitudine, quam verborum nostrorum gaudeat proprietate, ut ad eloquentiæ venustatem ipsis rerum naturis juxta aliquam similitudinem pro verbis scriptura malit, uti quam propriæ locutionis integritatem sequi."

(6) Theol. Christ. pag. 1326. " De æternitate autem generationis, quod quæsitum est, utrum videlicet Filius semper gignatur, an semper sit genitus—eum tam gigni semper quam genitum esse, h. e. semper eum ex Patre esse, et plenam semper et perfectam in hoc generationem ejus esse, neque enim secundum temporum distinctionem id accipimus, cum illa videlicet æterna generatio tempori nullo modo cedat, quæ ante tempora quoque sicut nunc perfecta consistebat."

(7) Th. Ch. l. i. c. 5. " Nomine Spiritus Sancti affectus benignitatis et caritatis exprimitur, eo videlicet quod spiritu oris nostri et anhelitu maxime affectus animi patefiant, cum præ amore suspiramus aut præ laboris vel doloris angustia gemimus:" and 1085, Opp. " Procedere Dei est sese ad aliquam rem per affectum caritatis quodammodo extendere, ut ei per amorem se jungat."

Abelard wished to prove that the expressions begotten and proceeding were symbolical, " Caritas Dei ex Patre et Filio procedit," is as much as to say, " In illis quasi primordium et causam suæ existentiæ habet, cum ex eo Deus rationaliter velit quicquid de condendis vel disponendis creaturis instituit, quia et potentiam et sollertiam in his vel condendis vel disponendis plenam obtinet." From this point of view, he seeks to accommodate the differences between the Greek and Latin Churches: " Spiritus Sanctus ex Patre proprie procedere dicitur, quasi a summa origine, quæ se

aliunde non sit, et ab ipso in Filium quasi in rivum, et per Filium ad nos quasi in stagnum hujus seculi."

(8) 1085, Opp. "Fortasse cum ipsæ creaturæ ex necessitate non sint, amor tamen Dei erga illas ita necessario habet esse, ut absque illo Deus esse non possit, cum videlicet ipse ex propria naturá tam hunc amorem suum, quam quodlibet bonum ita habeat, ut eo carere nullatenus possit."

(9) Yet Abelard himself, in his Christ. Theol. p. 1515, B. calls a certain Magister, 'Heterodox' who had asserted that those who had lived before the Incarnation of Christ, even such as were without any faith in His future manifestation and passion, should be saved and have eternal life through Him. It is true indeed that this Magister does not appear to have excited any great attention; still it is singular that he should have escaped all controversy with the zealous supporters of the orthodox creed, and we are thus led to suspect that Abelard, in the heat of a philosophical controversy may have misunderstood his meaning. Men of latitudinarian principles have, in all ages, been occasionally led by their natural feelings, and by the idea of redemption, to a belief in its universality: such was the case, in the ninth century, with the Grammarian Probus, as it appears from Lupi Ferrariens. ep. 20, pag. 43, ed. Baluz. "Non scripsisti quid Probus noster exerceat utrum, an inchoatam satyram, quod magis existimo, struens Ciceronem et Virgilium cæterosque opinione ejus probatissimos viros in electorum collegium admittat, ne frustra Dominus sanguinem fuderit et inferno otium tribuerit, si verum sit illud propheticum, Ero mors tua, o mors; morsus tuus ero, inferne." And Lupus, though himself an Augustine monk, exhibits no surprise on the occasion.

(11) V. Scito te ipsum, ap. Paez. t. iii. p. iii. pag. 640. "Constat opera quæ fieri convenit aut minime agere a bonis sicut a malis hominibus geri, quos intentio sola separat. Non quæ fiunt, sed quo animo fiant, pensat Deus; nec in opere, sed in intentione meritum operantis consistit." This assertion gave offence to many persons, who opposed to it the words of the canon, "cur gravior satisfactio pœnitentibus imponatur de operis effectu, quam de culpæ reatu." In answering this objection, he was led to represent the great distinction existing between the judgment of God and all human judgment, whether in temporal or spiritual matters. Human judges, unable to distinguish between moral guilt and merit, are often compelled to increase or to mitigate their punish-

ments according to the simple moral estimate of desert. "Culpæ itaque animi divino reservantur judicio, effectus eorum, de quibus judicare habemus, prosequimur nostro, dispensationem in talibus, h. e., prudentiæ, quam diximus rationem, magis quam æquitatis attendentes puritatem. Deus vero uniuscujusque pœnam secundum culpæ quantitatem disponit; et quicunque ipsum æqualiter contemnunt, æquali postmodum pœna punientur, cujuscunque conditionis ant professionis sunt." How momentous were the consequences resulting from this principle, with regard to the power of the keys!—unless, indeed, it were asserted that all bishops were led by the immediate influence of the Holy Ghost on their minds,—a conclusion to which daily experience offered but too evident a contradiction, and which was also opposed to Abelard's fore-cited assertion. It must be admitted, that the distinction between the divine and the ecclesiastical judgment, was by no means a novelty, at least in theory, to the more skilful doctors of the Church, although the great mass of the clergy, with whom the greater part of the evil originated, were, from their want of cultivation, incapable of perceiving it. I will only cite in illustration, bishop Ivo of Chartres, now before me. Some one had asked him how the words in the xviiith of Ezekiel, "In quacunque hora peccator conversus ingemuit salvus erit," were to be reconciled with the theory of the Church satisfaction, to which he replied, (Ep. 228.) "Per internum gemitum satisfit interno judici, et idcirco indubita datur ab eo peccati remissio, cui manifesta est interna conversio. Judex vero, qui tantum videt in facie, usque adeo delinquentem sub peccati pœna detinet, donec per manifestum pœnitentiæ fructum qui sit pœnitentis affectus intelligat." In proof of his assertion, that it is only by the moral estimate that the intention can be ascertained, Abelard adduced the Augustinian principle, "Habe caritatem et fac quicquid vis." But in following this principle, and that feeling of moral rectitude, which is seated in the human heart, he came to a result that he could by no means admit, without being brought into collision with the Church system of his day. No one can lawfully be judged, except in so far as his conscience is enlightened, for which Abelard quoted St. John, "Si cor nostrum non reprehenderit nos, fiduciam habemus apud Deum." Which passage he thus explained, "Ubi contra conscientiam nostram non præsumimus, frustra nos apud Deum de culpa reos statui formidamus." From this it seemed to him to follow of course, that those

persons who had not received Christianity, because they had had no opportunity of becoming acquainted with it, or because it had failed in bringing conviction of its truth to their minds, as well as those who had persecuted it, in the sincere belief that in so doing they were serving God, were none of them guilty or deserving punishment; and this was asserting an arrant heresy. Here he must needs distinguish between the philosophical and theological principles, and shelter himself with the exclamation, "Abyssus multa Dei judicia sunt." He ought here to have inquired whether the hatred and persecution of Christianity had their origin in a simple theoretical error of the understanding, or in a perversion of the will, which had first generated this error. John iii. 17. Christ expressly says, "He is come into the world not to condemn the world, but that the world through him might be saved. He that believeth not is self-condemned;" and this self-condemnation consists in this: "That light is come into the world, and men loved darkness rather than light," because they feared lest their own wickedness "should be made manifest by the light." Therefore it is that Christ elsewhere says, that "all manner of sin and blasphemy," even against the Son of Man, "shall be forgiven unto men;" except only "the blasphemy against the Holy Ghost;" wherein men like the Pharisees, feeling themselves constrained to recognize the work of God, choose to ascribe it to the Evil One, because it opposes their own inclinations and lusts. But admitting that all religious persecutors have not been Pharisees; the question still remains, whether persecution unto death can in any case be consistent with love to God, unmixed and unalloyed with self-love and human passion; or whether in spite of the preconceived opinions impressed by education, the genuine love of God does not only invariably warm, but *enlarge* the heart, and thereby *enlighten* the mind. Here again, according to Abelard's principle we come to the result that man is incapable of any moral appreciation of the subject. Abelard would indeed have tracked the principle to its foundation if he had had the freedom and the courage to follow it out consistently in its application. "We cannot," says he, "determine by the moral estimate, whether in the moment of action a man intended to act rightly (for the intention may originate in a hidden, and, as it respects man, a punishable moral depravity) influencing his understanding, "diligenter Dominus cum secundum intentionem rectam vel non rectam opera distingueret, oculum mentis, i. e. intentionem simplicem et

quasi *a sorde puram, ut clare* videri possit, ut e contra *tenebrosam* vocavit, i. e. si intentio recta fuerit, tota massa operum *inde provenientium*, quæ more corporalium rerum videri possit, erit luce digna, i. e. bona, sic e contrario." On the sin against the Holy Ghost, Abelard dared with justice to say, "Nullus qui assumpti nominis dignitati derogat, propter hoc damnabitur, si aliæ non interveniant damnationis causæ; non enim in hoc aliquis contemptus Dei notari potest, si veritati per errorem contradicat, nec contra conscientiam agat, maxime cum id tale sit quod humana ratione investigari non possit, sed magis rationi videatur contrarium. Blasphemare autem in Spiritum Sanctum, est ea opera manifestæ gratiæ Dei calumniari, ut illa quæ credebant per Spiritum Sanctum, h. e. divina bonitate misericorditer fieri, per diabolum tamen assererent agi, tanquam si dicerent, illum quem Spiritum Dei credebant esse Spiritum nequam, et sic Deum esse diabolum." [No one who derogates from the dignity of an assumed name will be condemned on this account, if no other cause of condemnation intervene; for there can be no contempt of God, where one through erroneous impressions, contradicts truth, and so does not violate his conscience, especially if the matter be such as cannot be investigated by human reason, but rather appears opposed to it. But to blaspheme against the Holy Ghost is to calumniate the works of the manifest grace of God, so that those things which a man believes to have been wrought by the Holy Spirit, i. e. the Divine Goodness, he should yet assert to have been performed by the devil. As if he should say that He Whom he believes to be the Spirit of God, was the Spirit of Evil, so that God was the devil.] Here, for example, forgiveness appears impossible, because there is no apparent opening for repentance. "But we do not even deny that such can be saved, if they repent. We only say that they are not likely to attain to repentance."

(12, *page* 141.) V. Scito teipsum, cap. 18. The picture is by no means overwrought which Abelard has here drawn of the rude beings, who when at their last gasp, would fain confess their sins, in order to obtain absolution, yet refused to give up their unjust gains out of regard for their heirs. Many examples might be adduced. Henry Huntingdon, de Contemptu Mundi, ap. d'Achery, t. iii. pag. 505, narrates that "Robert, Count of Mellent, being seized with a sickness, which announced the approach of death, was admonished by the archbishop and the priests, who administered to him in the

expiatory office of confession, to repent, *to restore the lands* which he had acquired by violence and artifice, and to wash away his crimes with his tears. To this the Count replied, 'If I, wretch that I am, were to consent to this division of the lands which I have with such infinite pains united; what would remain to my sons?' But the ministers of the Lord rejoined, 'The patrimonial inheritance, together with the lands you have honestly acquired, will be sufficient for your sons; restore the remainder, or you consign your soul to hell.' The Count, however, returned this answer: 'I shall bequeath the *whole* to my sons, and they will mercifully care for the salvation of their deceased parent.' But the sons only studied how to add to their father's unjust acquisitions, without being careful to distribute anything to ensure the salvation of his soul, by the purchase of masses." There was also a certain sort of itinerant monks, that attracted the veneration of the people by an appearance of peculiar sanctity; and who, by their attendance at the confessional, the facility with which they granted absolution, and the security which, in order to obtain money from them, they promised to the laity, became highly prejudicial to the cause of religion and morality. V. Policrat. l. vii. cap. 21. Abelard, Sermo de Joanne Baptista, pag. 954. Abelard's Christian displeasure is finely expressed in his exposition of the Lord's prayer. I give, in his own words, his indignant complaints of the unworthy priests, dispersed among the people. "The festival days pass away, a whole year passes away, without a single word being heard from their lips, whereby their congregations might be instructed, improved, called back to the right way, or confirmed in it; and yet they believe that they are daily engaged in God's service, because they are singing words in his praise. And there are certain priests who rove over the face of the whole earth with their amulets, and with lying promises of salvation to the ignorant and sin-burdened multitudes. Oh! that Thine unction may guide the flock, that Thy Spirit by His internal working may reveal to them the truths which these dumb priests keep from their knowledge;" is his concluding prayer. The deceit and worldliness of the priests aroused the outraged spirit of truth, that spark of Deity, from her slumber in the soul of man, and occasioned the rapid and universal spread of the sectaries in this century, of whom more hereafter. Abelard was tolerably clear in his general principle, that the confession of sin in the Church, could not in any wise alter or affect the relations subsisting between God

and man; but he represents its efficacy for the moral renovation of mankind, from the humility and self-denial involved in confession; virtues opposed to that self-love which is the source of all sin. The correctness of these general principles did not, however, keep him from regarding Church penance and satisfaction as necessary, because, although the forgiveness of sin can only be attained by inward repentance, yet all wickedness, according to the just decree of God, necessarily brings punishment with it. When a man refuses to receive this punishment in the form of the penance appointed by the Church in this life, he is condemned to bear it after death in the *ignis purgatorius*. Earnestly did he declaim against the indulgences, which were already beginning to be made a source of gain to greedy priests. From his complaints we gather, that in order to attract the people, and thus to secure to themselves rich oblations, the bishops, at the consecration of Churches, the blessing of altars, and other solemnities, were wont to release all those persons who attended them, from a portion of the penance they had undertaken, *sub quadam specie caritatis, sed in veritatis summa cupiditate.* He makes this satirical observation: "Why then, since heaven is in their power, are they so cruel as not to remit all penance, if they remit it simply out of love? Is it not monstrous that they should allow any member of their congregations to be damned, when they have full power to absolve him from all sins?" "Quod utique beatissimi prædicandi essent si sibi cum vellent cœlos aperire possent. Quod quidem si non possunt vel nesciunt, certe illud poeticum in quantum arbitror incurrunt; Nec prosunt Domino, quæ prosunt omnibus artes. Appetat quislibet, non ego potestatem, qua potius aliis quam sibi proficere possit."

(12, *page* 155.) Otto was the grandson of the Emperor Henry of Germany, who having visited the Cistercian monastery of Morimond, as a temporary retreat from the world, felt so powerfully called to the religious life as to take the vows there, with fifteen of his companions. He subsequently became bishop of Friesingen, and took an active part in public affairs. Otto Frising. de reb. gest. F. I. l. I. c. 48, is certainly more accurate than l. iii. vit. Bern. c. 5, or than Bernard himself in his letters on the grounds of Abelard's appeal. It was not that he was unable to controvert the arguments of Bernard, or that he had been convinced by the quotations from the Primitive Fathers, but "seditionem populi timens."

(13) "Nos autem, licet appellatio ista minus canonica videretur,"

says Bernard, ep. 337, "sedi tamen apostolicæ deferentes, in personam hominis nullam voluimus proferre sententiam."

(14) That Abelard was very far from wishing to raise doubts as to the essential doctrines of the Church, or from seeking to remodel them in accordance with his speculations, is proved by his letter to Eloisa, from whom he certainly did not conceal his real sentiments. He is striving to relieve her mind from the anxiety which the report of his heterodoxy had occasioned her. "Logic," he writes, "has made me hateful to the world; men praise the acuteness of my mind, but they deny the purity of my faith; and I will be no philosopher, if so I must needs fight against the Apostle Paul; I will be no Aristotle, if so I be separated from Christ; for there is no other name under heaven whereby I may attain salvation. I therefore worship the Lord Christ, who ruleth at the right hand of the Father; embrace Him with the arm of faith, even as He divinely worketh in the flesh." To this he adds, for Eloisa's further satisfaction, his full and orthodox confession of faith, concluding with these words: "This is the faith on which I rely, from which I draw the assurance of hope, and here taking my firm stand, I fear not the roaring of Scylla, and laugh to scorn the whirlpool of Charybdis; here I am not afraid of the death-bringing song of the Syrens; and here, if the tempest break over my head, I shall not be shaken; if storms overtake me I shall not be moved, for I am grounded on a rock."

(15) In the middle ages, and while the cohesion between the vast stock of the western races still subsisted, and the peculiar characteristics of the different European nations were only beginning to develope themselves, the levity and turn for raillery among the French had been already recognized. V. Matth. Par. Hist. Angl. Maj. pag. 575. ed. Lond. i. "More Francorum jocose prolatum verbum levitatis." It was in a strain of the most biting satire and reckless freedom, that the independent Berengarius attacked Bernard and the judges of Abelard. "Non mirum est," says he to the former, "scripta tua in fama pulpito collocari, cum constat ea, qualiacunque sint, a majoribus hujus terræ approbari. Jamdudum sanctitudinis tuæ odorem ales per orbem fama dispersit, præconizavit merita, miracula declaravit. Sperabam in linguæ tuæ arbitrio cœli sitam clementiam, aëris temperiem, ubertatem terræ, fructuum benedictionem." Many of his reproofs are certainly well founded; for instance, that of Bernard's

polemical disputes with Abelard being unbecoming a Christian and a monk, and of his conduct being quite at variance with the intention ascribed to him by his adherents, of converting Abelard. That, at the opening of the council, Bernard had in his sermon exhorted the people to pray for Abelard's conversion, we may readily believe, and as Berengarius justly says, "Si Petrum, bone vir, ad integrum fidei statum disponebas revocare, cur ei coram populo æternæ blasphemiæ characterem impingebas? Quid vulgus oraret, cum pro quo esset orandum nesciret? Tu, vir Dei, qui miracula feceras, qui ad pedes Jesu cum Maria sedebas, qui conservabas omnia verba hæc in corde tuo, purissimum sacræ orationis thus coram supernis obtutibus adolere deberes, ut reus tuus Petrus resipisceret, et talis efficeretur quem nulla suspicio inquireret." [If, good man, thou wert desirous to bring back Peter to a sound faith, why didst thou, before all the people, fasten on him the character of eternal blasphemy? How could the people pray, when they knew not for what they were to pray? Thou, O man of God, who hast wrought miracles, who wert wont to sit with Mary at the feet of Jesus, who hast kept all these words in thine heart, thou shouldst thyself offer up the purest incense of prayer to the Supreme Being, imploring Him to grant such repentance to the guilty Peter, as may be sufficient to place him for the future beyond the reach of suspicious inquisition.] What Berengarius says of the list of propositions which Abelard was accused of having maintained, is probably grounded on the circumstance of this list having been drawn up without any reference to the meaning that Abelard himself attached to these propositions; his tenets being thus perverted, so that he was made responsible for doctrines which he had never thought of. For instance, the assertion "that the Holy Ghost is the Soul of the world," had never entered Abelard's mind. He had only, in order to prove that the doctrine of the Trinity had been revealed even to the Platonic philosophers, introduced the doctrine of the Holy Ghost, into theirs of the Soul of the world, which he looked upon as an allegorical veil to cover their deeper meaning. What Berengarius says against Bernard here is very fine; "Patere quæso tecum Petrum esse Christianum; et si vis, tecum erit Catholicus; et si non vis, tamen erit; communis enim Deus est, non privatus." [I entreat thee, be convinced that Peter is a Christian, even as thou art, and that if thou wish it, he will also be a Catholic as thou

art; and if thou wish it not, still he will be so, for God is the common Good of *all* men, not of individuals only.

The allegation that Bernard's zeal in the cause had only been called forth by private hatred, is overstrained and incorrect. Bernard's writings testify his objective interest in the dispute, and his polemics were the result of this interest. It is true that human passions were afterwards mingled with the subject matter, but when has philosophy any more than theology known how to separate the person from the opinions, in any case wherein her interests have been involved? The animadversion on the papal proceedings is perfectly well-founded. "Renunciavit Bernardus quæ gesta fuerant apostolica, et statim a Romana sede leges damnationis in Petrum per Gallicas ecclesias volaverunt. Cujus unquam, Jesu bone, culpa tam cæcos habuit judices, ut non utrinque causæ latera ventilarentur? Isti clausis oculis palpant negotium, et, quasi oculati rerum cognitores, arcu iniquitatis intus toxicum subito jaculaverunt. Quicquid intestinus odiorum furor rotaret in Petrum, censuræ apostolicæ sobrium nunquam dormitare deberet acumen." He alleges that the pope was afraid of Bernard,—"facile deviat a justitia, qui plus hominem quam Deum timet in causa;" and he even ventures to apply the sentence of the prophet. "The whole head is sick—from the sole of the foot even unto the head there is no soundness in it." Berenger, at that time very young, proposed adding a second book to his "Apology," for the express purpose of defending those propositions of Abelard which had been condemned as heretical, but this he ultimately durst not attempt. "Nolim esse," says he at that period, "patronus capitulorum; quia etsi sane sapiebat, non sane sonabat." The universal odium which he had drawn down on himself by his violent attack upon Bernard, induced him afterwards to indite a letter for the purpose of justifying himself. He therein recognizes Bernard as a man of undoubted piety; but yet says Berenger, "Nonne homo est? Nonne nobiscum navigat per hoc mare magnum? Quod vinum potest habitare in pice et saporem ejus non mutare? Audet abbas in literis? audeo et ego. Audet in theologia? audeo et ego. Audet in fide? audeo et ego. Audet in sanctitate? hic non audeo ego." [Is he not a man? Does he not navigate with us this vast ocean? Can wine be mingled with pitch without losing its flavour? Is the abbot bold in letters? so am I. Is he bold in theology? so am I. Is

he bold in faith? so am I. Is he bold in holiness? here I dare not be bold.]

But this was a mere philosophical contest, and the field of philosophy has ever been open to all challengers; and Berengarius had fastened his attack on the philosophy, not on the contemplations of Bernard. The papal chancellor Haimerich, who as the friend of Bernard, and the most influential personage of the Roman court, had probably been the principal agent in procuring the condemnation of Abelard, thus drew down upon himself the bitterest satire of the bold Berengarius. The chancellor, who kept up a constant correspondence with Bernard, had among other theological questions proposed this: "In what manner God is to be loved?" A question to which indeed he should rather have allowed his own heart to reply. V. Bernard, tractat. de diligendo Deo, cap. i. According to the citation of Berengarius, the answer runs thus: "Quæris, quid sit diligendum? Breviter respondeo, Deus." [You ask, what is to be loved? I answer briefly—God.] This however is not to be found in the original, and judging from the context, nothing is wanting; yet the reason of Berengarius is grounded on this: "Verissimum quidem dixit," says he thereupon, "et venerabile verum; sed ad hoc dicendum pro nihilo aperit os suum; nemo enim de hoc dubitat; et tamen dum Deum diligendum esse pronunciat, latenter ferit Romanum, qui in curia papæ non Deum didicerat amare, sed aurum." [A most certain and venerable truth forsooth, says he; but in saying this, he opens his mouth for nought, since no one doubts of this; and yet in declaring openly that God is to be loved, he privately lashes the Roman, who in the court of the pope had learned to love, not God, but gold.]

(16) The views of the Abbot Peter of Clugni, respecting human learning, which he highly prized, his reference to its connection with Christianity, are particularly developed in one of his letters to the magister Peter, who was induced by his persuasion to forsake human for divine learning, and to leave the schools of philosophy for a cloister. (That the person to whom this letter is addressed could not be Abelard, though he was generally known by that title, is clear from a letter of the same abbot to this Peter, l. ii. 22. in which it appears that he had been a monk of Clugni some time before the suppression of the schism in Aquitaine.) He eventually became the most intimate friend of the venerable Peter, who was wont to find in his conversation both recreation

and support. Before his assumption of the monkish habit, and while the abbot was yet striving to induce him to change his mode of life, he thus wrote to him :—" It was with the most eager diligence that the ancients sought after the supreme good; they dived deep into the bowels of the earth, in hopes of obtaining the treasured secret; they sought it by the invention of arts, by manifold combinations and inferences, and by the endless controversies of their schools of philosophy. But when truth, looking down on them from heaven, saw that they were seeking below for that which dwelleth on high,—that mortals were beguiling themselves with the perplexities of lies,—she was touched with compassion for their misery, and assumed their nature, in order to open their darkened eyes; and to them, and to all who are suffering like them, she calls, 'Come unto me, all ye that are weary and heavy-laden, and I will refresh you' (Matt. xi.); and she quiets the restless strife of the seekers after happiness by saying to them, 'Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven,' (Matt. v.) Behold the way of happiness discovered, without Platonic meditation, without academic disputes, without Aristotelian subtleties. Walk in the path of poverty,—not so much the poverty of the external circumstances as that of the spirit. And when, through Christ's mercy, thou shalt have attained to this, it will be my greatest joy to receive thee as mine own son." V. l. i. p. 9.

On other occasions he exhibits a spirit of Christian moderation far removed from all bigotry. After comparing together those passages of Scripture which treat of the divine nature of Christ, certain monks of Clugni had come to the conclusion that Christ nowhere openly styles himself God. When the abbot heard of this, he neither inquired their names, nor expressed any doubts regarding their orthodoxy, but treated them as lovers of truth, who wished to be instructed in that which they had failed to discover for themselves. Once, when the conversation fell on that which is most necessary for the salvation of man, he observed that the subject ought to be so investigated as to leave no doubt on any man's mind. The principle which he laid down for the investigation was this,—" God, in order to accommodate Himself to the weakness of man, hath been pleased to hide Himself both in His personal manifestation, and in His written word, that men may be led by degrees to the knowledge of His revealed divine nature, of which He has left sufficient traces to guide those who are in earnest

in their inquiry." V. Epist. c. eos qui dicunt Christum nunquam se in Evangelio aperte Deum dixisse, Bibl. Patr. Lugd. t. xxii. p. 970.

(17) V. Otto Frising. d. g. F. l. i. c. 20. "Tenui nutrivit Gallia sumptu edocuitque diu," says of Arnold, Gunther Ligurinus, l. iii. pag. 322. ap. Reuber. Compare Abelard's account of the hard lives of his disciples, Hist. Calamitat. "Quanto durio-rem in doctrina nostra vitam sustinebant, tanto amplius mihi æmuli æstimabant gloriosam, sibi ignominiosam."

(18) In these disputes the right of the temporal princes to the Investiture cum baculo et annulo, was particularly called in question, on the ground of these being the symbols of the spiritual character. The princes were thus accused of insinuating themselves into the sacred office, foreign to their character. "Investitura sacramentum est," (says Peter of Vendôme, Opusc. ii.) "i. e. sacrum signum quo episcopus a cæteris hominibus discernitur, atque super Christianum gregem cura pastoralis ei tribuitur." To this the princes rejoined, that the Church, by overstepping her own limits, had led the state into this trespass on her territory, and had thus by her own transgression subjected herself to a strange jurisdiction. The principles which the princes and their partizans asserted, during the disputes for the investiture, are given at length by Geroch. R. de Ecclesiæ Statu, &c. c. 21. and are similar in all respects to those subsequently advanced by Arnold, "that the tithes and oblations being free-will offerings of the congregations, whereby they contracted no sort of obligation to the temporal princes, ought to suffice for the wants of the Church; that the clergy ought, in conformity with the precepts of Christ, to confine themselves to spiritual matters, and not suffer themselves to be thrust into offices of worldly dignity, the duties of which were inconsistent with the spiritual character, but to leave to Cæsar that which is Cæsar's; so that being no longer entangled in extraneous business, they might not be hindered in rendering to God that which is God's, or suppose themselves sufficient for both; that sovereign princes were by their very designation entitled to the supreme rank, for it could not be consistent with the dignity of the empire that any one should be received among its princes except at the pleasure of the Emperor, and by the advice of the other princes." The Jurists already, at this time, began to call in question the right of the popes to temporal power, and to contest the validity of the gift of Constantine, although they missed the proper historical ground. Geroch relates that

he had heard Jurists at Rome declare that the privileges derived from Constantine were null and void, on account of his having been baptized by one of the Arian heresy—(Eusebius, bishop of Nicomedia, who had defended Arius in that city)—and because the property of the state is inalienable. V. Geroch. lib. de Corrupto Ecclesiæ Statu, ap. Baluz. t. v. Miscell. p. 81.

(19) Bernard, ep. 195, says of him,—" Utinam tam sana esset doctrina, quam districtæ est vitæ; homo est neque manducans, neque bibens, solus cum diabolo esuriens, et sitiens sanguinem animarum, unus de numero illorum, quos apostolica vigilantia notat, habentes formam pietatis, et virtutem illius penitus abnegantes."

(20) Gunther thus speaks of Arnold:—

. . . . . " Variis implevit vocibus aures;
Nil proprium cleri, et fundos et prælia nulla
Jure sequi monachos, nulli fiscalia jura
Pontificum, nulli curæ popularis honorem
Abbatum, sacras referens concedere leges
Omnia principibus terrenis subdita, tantum
Committenda viris popularibus atque regenda
Illis primitias et quæ devotio plebis
Offerat, et decimas castos in corporis usus
Non ad luxuriam seu oblectamina carnis
Concedens; mollesque cibos cultusque nitorem
Illicitosque toros, lascivaque gaudia cleri
Pontificum fastus abbatum denique laxos
Damnabat penitus mores, monachosque superbos
Veraque multa quidem, nisi tempora nostra fideles
Respuerent monitus, falsis admixta monebat.
Ille suum vecors in clerum pontificemque
Atque alios plures adeo commoverat urbes,
Ut jam ludibrio sacer extremoque pudori
Clerus haberetur."

(21) Gunther says plainly, " Articulos fidei certumque tenorem non satis exacta pietate fovebat." Otto of Freisingen,—" Præter hæc de sacramento et baptismo parvularem non sane dicitur sensisse."

(22) " Non fuit qui faceret bonum," says Bernard, in speaking of the execution of the papal sentence.

CHAPTER III.

The last epoch of Bernard's life, under the papacy of Eugenius the Third, 1145 to 1153.

By the death of Lucius the Second during the continuance of the troubles, the cardinals were precipitated into another hurried election; and this time their choice fell, not upon one of their own body, but on the abbot of a Roman convent, Bernard by name—a friend and disciple of the abbot of Clairvaux. He had formerly resigned the office of *vice dominus*, or superintendent of the episcopal revenues of the Church of Pisa, a situation of honour and emolument, in order to devote himself to a monkish life, under the guidance of Bernard. When, after the termination of the schism, Innocent had resolved on founding a Cistercian establishment at Rome, and had committed the superintendence of it to the abbot of Clairvaux, Bernard had been selected by him to preside over the community. He was now raised from the condition of a monk[1] to the supreme dignity, and took

[1] It appears that the functions of Eugenius, when a monk at Clairvaux, had been very humble, having chiefly consisted in "supplying the stove with fuel, and preparing a fire for the monks, who were often benumbed with cold after matins, owing to the scantiness of their clothing." Ann. Cist. p. 393, No. 10. He must, however, have been distinguished for his piety, or Bernard would hardly have selected him to regulate and govern a new

the name of Eugenius the Third. The Romans would have compelled him to renounce the government of

establishment. The vexations to which he found himself exposed in this situation, where the calumnies of one of his monks had, to use his own words, "rendered him the laughing-stock and fable of the city," had weighed so heavily on his spirit as to induce him earnestly to solicit his return to Clairvaux, and several letters addressed by him to Bernard on this subject are preserved among the epistles of the latter. "O, my father," he writes in one, "since I have been separated from you, my life has been consumed in affliction, my days in groanings. Wretched man that I am, my ears are no longer ravished by the sweetness of your voice, which was wont to resound to me so melodiously; and I am deprived of the sight of that countenance so dear and so amiable in my eyes. What, then, can I do, overpowered as I am? Permit me, I beseech you, my revered father, to go away, and seek a little rest; yea, would to God that we might be utterly rejected by the world, and forced by its persecutions to seek shelter in the wilderness, and to take refuge in the mountains and caves of the earth." Epist. 343, 344. inter Epist. Bern. edit. Mabillon.

When the news of his election to the papacy reached Clairvaux, Bernard, amazed at the choice of the cardinals, and apparently doubtful of the capability of Eugenius, addressed the following letter to the members of the sacred college, in which the anxiety and agitation of his mind are sufficiently obvious. It begins abruptly. "May God forgive you—but what have you done? You have recalled to the world a man who was already in the grave; you have overwhelmed with the cares and the business of life one who wished neither for cares nor for business; and you have forced him to mingle with the crowd, and to appear upon the theatre of the world. You have raised to the foremost place him, who only thought of being the last; and this station is more perilous for him than the former. You have constrained a man, who was crucified to the world, to live again in the world; and after he has chosen to be the least of the servants in the house of his God, ye have chosen to put him at the head of all the servants of God. Why have you overthrown the counsel of the poor? Why did it come into your mind to obstruct his path with briars and brambles,—to turn him out of the way, and to embarrass his steps? Who

their city, and to ratify their self-imposed constitution; and to escape their violence, he left the city, and retired with the cardinals to a neighbouring convent, where he was consecrated pope. Being prevented by the troubles from returning to Rome, he at first took up his residence at Viterbo.

Rome, the ancient seat of corruption, was the last place where Arnold's pure spirit could have any influence; and he had deceived himself when he had relied on finding in that corrupt city men capable of embracing his ideas, and of becoming animated by them in their purity (1). The spirit of wild rebellion, of passion, and of earthly covetousness, ruled in Rome; deeds of violence were perpetrated; the palaces of many of the cardinals and nobles were plundered and razed. But

put it into your heads to seize upon a simple and unlettered monk, buried in a cloister, and place him on the throne of St. Peter? What! were there no wise men among yourselves? Was no one but Eugenius fit for the papacy? It is absurd to take a poor fellow covered with rags (pannosum homuncionem), and to make him the master of princes and bishops, of kingdoms and empires. But why should I call it absurd? Is it not rather a thing to be admired? Assuredly it is either one or the other. I by no means reject the idea of its being God's work, who alone doeth wondrous things; but yet I tremble for my Eugenius, for he is of a tender and delicate complexion, full of modesty and reserve, and accustomed more to silence and contemplation than to the management of affairs; so that I fear lest he should be found wanting in the qualities required by the august situation to which you have advanced him. What think you must needs be the feelings of a man, who passes at once from the solitude of the heart, and from the mysteries of inward prayer, to the tumult of the world, and who is treated like an infant, forcibly taken from the breast of its mother? Alas! unless the Lord lend him his support, he must perforce fall, and will be borne down by the weight of a burden too heavy for him to bear." Ep. 237.

such a state of anarchy must at last annihilate itself; Eugenius having first launched the thunders of his excommunication from Viterbo against the authors of the disturbances and all their adherents, then turned from spiritual to temporal weapons. In concert with the ancient enemies of the Roman people, the Tiburtines, he succeeded in reducing them to obedience, and they humbly sued to him for peace, which he granted on condition that the old hierarchical constitution should be re-established; and thus Eugenius was enabled to keep the Christmas festival at Rome.

Bernard, whose attention was ever directed to all that was passing in the Church, now took the most lively interest in the elevation of his disciple and friend, trusting that, through the agency of the man whose character had been formed by himself, and over whom he exercised so great an influence, many of his desires for the benefit of the Church would be realized.

"I dare no longer," writes Bernard to the new pope, "call you my son, for the son is become the father, the father the son; yet I envy you not; for that which is lacking to me, I trust to obtain in you, for you are my work. I may call you my son in the spirit, and 'a wise son is the joy of his father.' (Prov. x. 1.) But from henceforth you shall no more be called my son, for a new name have you received, which the Lord Himself hath given you. This change is from the Most High, and many shall rejoice thereat. As Simon was turned into Cephas, and Saul to Paul, so I trust that for you it shall also be a blessed transformation that has made of my son Bernard, my father Eugenius. And now that this change has been made in you, the Lamb's Bride committed to your care must likewise be changed, and made better. If you be indeed the Bridegroom's

friend, appropriate not to yourself *His* Church, or appropriate it only so as to be willing to lay down your life for it, in case of necessity. If you be sent by Christ, you will consider that you are 'come not to be ministered unto, but to minister.' Then shall the Church, freed from her bondage, and transfigured, shine forth as the beloved of Him Who is the only object of her desire. But if you, who have formerly learned to renounce not only your own, but yourself, should now (which may God forbid!) be found seeking your own in that which belongeth to Christ, from whom shall the Church look for that freedom to which she is entitled? Confiding, then, more in you than in any of your predecessors for a long season, the universal Church rejoiceth, and especially that Church which has borne you in her bosom, and at whose breast you have imbibed the new life. And shall I not share the common joy? Yea, truly, I confess it, *I* also rejoiced; but in the moment of rejoicing, fear and trembling seized me, for though I have laid aside the name of father, yet have I *not* laid aside the tender love and anxious solicitude of a father. You have taken a higher place, but not so safe an one. 'The place whereon thou standest is holy ground;' the place of the first of the apostles; the place of him whom God made lord of His house, and ruler of His kingdom, who is buried in this place to appear as a witness against you, if in anything you depart from the way of the Lord. To one who with a clear conscience could say, 'Silver and gold have I none,' was the Church committed in her infancy, that taught by his words, and edified by his example, she might learn to despise all earthly things."

After exhorting the pope to reprove certain worldly-minded men on some particular occasion, he continues:

"O! that I might see the Church, before I die, as it was in the days of the apostles, who made it their business to win not silver and gold, but souls. How earnestly do I desire to hear from you, who occupy the apostle's place, the apostle's sentence,—'Thy money perish with thee!' (The answer of Peter to Simon Magus, Acts viii. 26.) O! word of thunder, at which all the enemies of Zion should arise and flee away! And this doth your Mother the Church require of you: for this do her children, small and great, continually sigh,—namely, that you should root out every plant which your Heavenly Father hath not planted; for you are set over nations and kingdoms to root out and to destroy, and to build up and to plant. Yet, in all your undertakings, remember that you are but a man; and let the fear of Him who taketh away the breath of princes, be ever before your eyes. How many popes have been removed by death, even in your own time! Let these, your predecessors, be silent monitors of the shortness and uncertainty of your own life, and, amid the flatteries of surrounding royalty, let your thoughts be ever on your latter end."

Bernard soon had the opportunity of contributing his personal assistance and advice to the support of his beloved Eugenius. Fresh disturbances broke out at Rome, owing to the pope's refusal to become the minister of the inextinguishable hatred of the Romans against the Tiburtines, and in the beginning of the year 1146, Eugenius found himself compelled for the second time to abandon the seat of the papacy. He took refuge in France, where many of his predecessors, when driven from Rome, had established their seat, and where he also, through the good offices of his friend Bernard, met with an honourable and friendly reception. During the

troubles, Bernard had addressed an epistle to the Romans, in hopes of inducing them to return to their duty; in which he first artfully appealed to their notorious ambition, and then to their fears.

"*Brother Bernard to the nobility and to all the people of Rome, to induce them to leave the evil and choose the good.*

"I, a man without authority, address myself to you, the illustrious people. But I reckon that the danger of appearing impertinent in the eyes of man, is less than that of being condemned before God, for stifling the truth, and concealing the right. Therefore I make bold to dispatch a letter from this side of the Alps to warn the Romans of their guilt and their danger, if so be they will listen and be quiet. In former days, were not the whole people in Babylon turned by the words of a boy, when they had been misled by old and foolish judges? And was not the innocent blood by this means preserved? If this suffice not, I add yet this; it is a common cause, and herein is no distinction between small and great. What hath possessed you, O Romans, first of people; thus to aggrieve your own especial protector? And O! foolish Romans, regardless of your honour, thus to put to shame your own head? Your fathers subjected the whole world to their city, and ye are fast making your city the laughing-stock of the whole world. And verily, what figure doth she assume now? as a body deprived of her head. Yet this is but the beginning of sorrows, and we fear that still greater calamities are in store for you; for are you not precipitating yourselves into the pit of destruction, if ye continue your headlong course? O! then return, return and learn, although so late, to know the man whom you have offended. Call to mind those

men by whom, not long since, your Churches were plundered of their riches and ornaments (during the schism). What was their object? What advantage did you reap from their proceedings? All the gold and silver that they could lay their hands on, either of the altars, the consecrated vessels, or even of the sacred images, were sacrilegiously torn down and carried off; and what portion of it found its way into your purses? What greater profit then, what surer hope do you now anticipate? Yea, your conduct appears even more inconsiderate than before; for formerly ye were upheld, not only by a larger proportion of the people, but by the adherence of many of the nobles and clergy; but now, as your hand is against every man, so is every man's hand against you. We implore you then for Christ's sake, reconcile yourselves with your protectors, Peter and Paul, whom, in the person of their representative and successor Eugenius, you have driven from their throne. Reconcile yourselves with the rulers of this world, lest the world begin to use her own weapons against the thoughtless ones. Know you not, that you have offended him against whom ye can *do* nothing, and under whose protection ye need *fear* nothing. Yea, defended by him, thou glorious city, seat of the mighty, thou shouldst not 'fear for ten thousand of the people that have set themselves against thee.' Reconcile yourselves with him, and at the same time with the thousand martyrs, who are indeed with you, but now witness against you on account of your perseverance in such monstrous guilt. Reconcile yourselves with the whole Church of the saints, or else these words shall be a testimony against you."

Finding these representations utterly unavailing with the excited Romans, he wrote an epistle to the Emperor

Konrad, imploring his assistance to avenge and to reinstate the pope.

"Is not Rome at once the head of the empire and the seat of the apostles? I know not what advice the wise and the great of your empire may give you; yet cannot I, in my simplicity, withhold my thoughts from you. 'Gird on thy sword' then, 'thou mighty man,' and 'render under Cæsar that which is Cæsar's, and unto God, that which is God's.' As a sovereign it befits the Emperor to defend his crown, as the advocate of the Church, to assert the cause of the Church. The victory is in your own hands, for the insolence of the Romans is far greater than their courage. Is it by any of the great and noble, by an emperor or prince, that the dignity of the empire and the priesthood is thus insulted? No! it is the accursed and turbulent people, who calculating not their strength, and considering neither the consequences nor the end, have been emboldened by their rashness and their folly to commit these daring outrages, and God will make the power of the people, the insolence of the populace, to quail in an instant beneath the glance of the sovereign."

The emperor did not indeed obey this summons. His attention was diverted at the time by objects of greater interest, in which the quarrel of the pope with the Romans was merged. In the circumstances which had now arisen, the pope had an authority totally independent of his connection with Rome; this was forgotten, and the eyes of the nations were directed to him as the leader of a great and holy undertaking. In the meantime, he could afford to leave the Romans to their own unruly devices, certain that their insolence would, through its natural results, sink into insignificance.

In the year 1145, information of the perilous condi-

tion of the newly-established Christian kingdom in the East had reached Europe. Edessa, the bulwark of this kingdom, and, according to tradition, the most ancient Christian city, whose king is said to have been converted by Christ himself, was taken by the Saracens[2], and Antioch and Jerusalem were threatened. The news excited universal sorrow. Lewis the seventh, who was smarting under the reproaches (2) of conscience for the atrocities committed by him in the war against Theobald, count of Champagne[3], was on this account the more anxious to expiate his guilt by some holy work; thus, when the ambassadors from Antioch and Jerusalem solicited the assistance of the Christian princes, they found Lewis ready and even desirous to arm in defence of the holy sepulchre. This desire he communicated to his nobles, before a numerous assembly of whom he assumed the crown[4], during the Christmas of 1145, at Bourges.

[2] Edessa was the capital of the principality, founded by Baldwin, brother of Godfrey of Bouillon. The Sultan of Bagdad had taken it, after a cruel slaughter. in 1144. The throne of Jerusalem was at this period occupied by Melisenda, the widow of Fulk of Anjou, as Regent during the minority of her son Baldwin the third. Edessa was one of the five members of the holy land.—Ratisbonne.

[3] The pangs of remorse might well be acute; for after taking and firing the town of Vitri, he had ordered the Church to be also set on fire; and thus thirteen hundred persons, principally women and children, who had taken refuge there, as in an inviolable sanctuary, perished in the flames. Vitri was rebuilt by Francis the first, on the other side of the Marne; but the name of Vitri-le-brûlé, still attests this horrible catastrophe.

[4] It was the custom of the French kings to have the crown solemnly set on their head on all occasions of state. Thus Philip Augustus was crowned again on occasion of his marriage with Isabella of Hainault, although the ceremony of his coronation had been performed the November previous at Rheims. A curious

By the advice of Bernard, an embassy had been first dispatched to the pope during his residence at Viterbo, entreating him to use his influence with the Christians of the west, in favour of their distressed brethren. Eugenius lent a willing ear to these supplications, and issued a circular letter to the king, the nobles, and to all the faithful in France, in general, exhorting them to arm, and to march against the enemies of the cross. He availed himself of his apostolical authority, like Urban the Second, to promise plenary absolution to all who with pious intention should engage in this undertaking or perish in it, on condition of having confessed themselves with humble and contrite hearts. In this letter Eugenius declares that he had earnestly desired to undertake the journey to France, in order to stir up the faithful to the holy enterprize, by his personal exhortations, as his predecessor, Pope Urban, had done; but that being prevented by his quarrel with the Romans, he had empowered the Abbot Bernard to act for him upon the occasion.

At the council summoned at Vezelai, for the purpose, at Easter, 1146, the crusade was to be first publicly preached, and the crosses distributed by Bernard. The assembly was so numerous that the castle was incapable of containing the people, and they therefore adjourned to an open field without the city. Bernard

incident occurred at this wedding. A gentleman usher in raising his wand to keep back the crowd, broke three lamps that were burning before the high altar, and the oil was spilled on the heads of the young couple. This was regarded by the people as a happy omen; a token that the name of their young king should be shed abroad like that spoken of in the Canticles. "Oleum effusum nomen tuum." Montfaucon, Monumens de la Monarchie Françoise, tom. 2.

then ascended a scaffolding erected for him, accompanied by the king, who had already assumed the cross. The effect of his eloquence was so inspiring, that the whole assembled multitude rent the air with shouts of "the cross, the cross," and thronged around the scaffold to receive the sacred emblem from his hands, which, in the words of an eye-witness, he might rather be said "to scatter than to distribute to them." The whole supply of crosses prepared for the occasion being exhausted, Bernard was obliged to tear up his own garments to supply the deficiency. Bernard brought all his fiery zeal to bear upon that which he had most at heart, and wrote to the pope to stimulate him to fresh exertions.

"So weighty and all-important a matter," writes Bernard, "you must not approach with a lukewarm, nor even with a fearful spirit. I have read what a certain wise man says, 'that he is no brave man whose courage doth not wax greater under difficulties[5];' but I say that the man who hath faith must needs find the increase of his confidence in the troubles which are sent him by God's appointment. Now that Christ hath suffered the second time, you must perforce draw both swords; for both are the swords of Peter, and to be drawn whenever there is necessity; the one by your own hand, the other by your command: and this is proved, although it may not at first sight appear so, by that saying of Christ to Peter, 'Put up thy sword into his sheath.' This sword, then, is also called *his*, only it was not to be drawn by his own hand' (an exegesis equally opposed to the letter and spirit of the passage).

Bernard, whose powerful mind was, according to the

[5] Seneca, ep. ii. ad Lucil.

testimony of a contemporary, tabernacled by a delicate and already infirm body, now travelled into the adjacent countries, and his glowing eloquence excited everywhere so great an enthusiasm, that he could write to the pope[6], "the cities and castles are emptied of their inhabitants, and hardly can seven women find a man; and in the lifetime of their husbands, wives are turned into widows."

In an assembly held at Chartres, about three weeks after Easter, Bernard was requested to head the expedition, but this he declined to do. "What am I," said he, "that I should set the battle in array, and place myself at the head of the warriors? What can be farther from my vocation, even if my strength were equal to it, and if I were not totally unlearned in the art of war[7]." After having travelled through France, he hastened into Germany to summon the princes and people of that country to join the crusade, and to pave the way for the removal of those difficulties which seemed at present opposed to any union for one common purpose. The German nobles and princes, engaged in mutual warfare, were far more occupied with their individual interests, than with those of the community at large. In the neighbourhood of the Rhine a species of wild fanaticism had mingled itself with the general enthusiasm for the crusade, and had generated a spirit of confusion and disunion which set all order at defiance, and prevented any effectual and regular union. An ignorant monk, Rudolph by name, had stepped forward as a preacher of the crusade, and had been followed by thousands from the cities of Cologne, Mentz, Strasburg, Worms, and

[6] Ep. 247. [7] Ep. 256.

Spires. He first diverted the passions of the people against the Jews as the enemies of Christ, and excited their fury to such a degree, that they fell upon those defenceless people and murdered them. In a letter, addressed to the archbishop Henry of Mentz, the noble and benevolent Bernard expressed his stern displeasure at the perpetration of these enormities[8]. "Doth not the Church triumph in a more glorious manner over the Jews, by daily refuting and converting them, than by taking up the sword to extirpate them? Shall that prayer, which the Church puts up from sunrise to sunset for the conversion of the Jews, be of no avail? Shall God in vain be entreated to take away the veil from their heart, that they may be brought out of their darkness into the light of life?—for, without the hope that the unbelievers shall at last attain faith, surely it would be superfluous to offer it. But ye know that the God, who repayeth evil with good, and hatred with love, turneth the eyes of his mercy upon them. And how deem ye of those words,—'When the fulness of the Gentiles is come in, then shall all Israel be saved[9]?' And again,—'The Lord will build up Jerusalem, and gather together the outcasts of Israel[1]?' Art thou he who makest the prophets liars, and the whole treasure of Christ's loving kindness and mercy of none effect? Yet truly this is not thy doctrine, but the doctrine of thy father that sent thee, for he was a murderer from the beginning. Hellish doctrine, indeed!—fearful heresy! —opposed both to prophets and apostles, and setting itself against the whole counsel of love and of grace! The words and works of this man do of a truth testify

[8] Ep. 365. [9] Rom. xi. 26. [1] Ps. cxlvii. 2.

that he seeketh to make himself a name like the great ones of the earth, but that he lacketh means to accomplish his purpose."

It was partly for the sake of quelling these disturbances, partly in the hope of urging the emperor and the principal potentates of Germany to lay aside their differences, and join in the crusade, that Bernard had come hither. He was everywhere honourably received, crowds streamed to meet him out of all the cities on his way; the sick were brought to him to be healed, and the fame of his wonders soon spread abroad. In the monk Rudolph he found a factious demagogue, idolized by the people; and none but a man of Bernard's credit and authority, and possessing, like him, such wonderful power of working on the minds of men, could have brought the matter so speedily to a conclusion. By his means the turbulent monk was reduced to the obedience of his convent, and the people, although not without murmuring, were fain to submit.

He did not find it so easy to induce the Emperor Konrad, who was by no means disposed to leave his own dominions, to take part in the crusade. It was at Frankfort-on-Maine that he had his first private audience. When the emperor then gave him to understand how little interest he took in the matter, Bernard pressed the subject no farther, but awaited another opportunity. After having succeeded in making peace between several of the princes of the empire, he preached the crusade publicly, exhorting the emperor and princes to participate in it, at the diet held at Christmas in the city of Spires. Three days after this, he again addressed the emperor in private, and exhorted him, in a friendly and affectionate manner, not to lose the opportunity of so short, so easy, and so honourable a mode of penance.

Konrad, already more favourably disposed to the undertaking, replied that he would advise with his councillors, and give him an answer on the following day. The next day Bernard officiated at mass, to which he unexpectedly added a sermon in reference to the crusade. Towards the conclusion of his discourse, he turned to the emperor, and addressed him frankly, as though he had been a private man. He described the day of judgment, when the men who had received such innumerable benefits from God, and yet had refused to minister to Him to the utmost of their power, would be left without reply or excuse. He then spoke of the blessings which God had in such overflowing measure poured upon the head of Konrad; the highest worldly dominion, treasures of wealth, gifts of mind and body, till the emperor, moved even to tears, exclaimed, "I acknowledge the gifts of the divine mercy, and I will no longer remain ungrateful for them. I am ready for the service to which He Himself hath exhorted me." At these words a universal shout of joy burst from the assembly; the emperor immediately received the cross, and several of the nobles followed his example. Bernard then took from the altar the consecrated banner, and delivering it to the emperor, by whom it was to be carried in person at the head of the crusaders, he proceeded with him from the Church to his lodgings.

Having thus secured this his most important object in Germany, and finding his presence in France, where in the interim his Eugenius had taken refuge, necessary for the final accomplishment of the business, and for other affairs of importance, Bernard now prepared to leave that country. He first appointed the abbot Adam of Eberach, as his successor in preaching the crusade, and committed to him a summons addressed to

the people of Germany, which he was to read in the assembly of the nobles. It was thus inscribed:

"To our most beloved Lords and Fathers, the Archbishops, Bishops, the Clergy in their assembly, and to all the frank people of East Germany and Bavaria, abbot Bernard, wishing the fulness of the Spirit of power.

"I would speak to you of the things of Christ, to whom we owe our salvation, and I say this, that the name and authority of the Lord may compensate for the unworthiness of the speaker, who would far rather address you by word of mouth, if he might do what he would. The whole earth is moved and shaken, because the God of heaven feareth that His holy land is about to be lost. His land I say, where the Blessed Word of God Himself taught and walked more than thirty years with men. His land, for hath it not been glorified by His miracles, sanctified by His blood, adorned by the first blossoms of the Resurrection? And yet, and it must be for the chastisement of our sins, the enemies of the cross have lifted up their unhallowed head therein, and laid waste that land of promise with the sword. And now, unless we oppose them, things are come to such a pass, that the infidel will shortly break into the very city of the living God, and bring desolation and woe into the sanctuary of our redemption; the holy place dyed with the blood of the unspotted Lamb. In their reckless daring they seek to surprise and devastate that sacred spot, where for our sake, He who is our Life, slept the sleep of death. And now, what do ye, ye men of war? What do ye, O ye servants of the cross? How many sinners while bewailing their sins with *tears*, have in that place obtained their pardon [2], even before it had been cleansed by the sword

[2] He might with truth assert this, uninfluenced by popular superstition; for where were men of rude and turbulent character, but

of our fathers, from the abominations of the heathen. This is well known to the Evil one, and raging with envy, he lifteth up the weapons of iniquity, to destroy every trace, every vestige of that heavenly love which was there exhibited, by taking, if he can, the city of the Most High, which God forbid; for this would be a grief, an irreparable loss to generations yet unborn, and to the godless race who permitted it an endless disgrace, an eternal reproach. What think ye, my brethren? Is the Lord's arm shortened, or hath it lost its power, that He calls on the miserable worms of the earth, to defend and reinstate Him in His inheritance? Can He not presently send more than twelve legions of angels? Is not His word sufficient to deliver the land; Yea, verily, He *can* do this, if it please Him. But the Lord hath pity upon His people, and offereth to those who have greatly fallen, a means of salvation; for it is to be regarded as an opportunity specially sent by God, when He vouchsafes to invite murderers, robbers, adulterers, covetous persons, and men sunk in all sorts of crime, into His service, as though they were a righteous seed. And since your country is fruitful in brave men, and is peopled with a hardy youth, as it is your fame throughout the whole world; ye should therefore manfully arm yourselves, and take up the blessed weapons out of godly zeal for the Christian name. Thus would you put a stop to your evil mode of making war upon each other as ye are wont, whereby ye consume one another, To peril soul and body in such a manner, is no true courage, but foolhardiness and frenzy. Here brave warriors, ye

at the same time of sound natural feeling, so likely to be excited by external impressions, to the most bitter repentance for the sins to which passion had urged them, and to the holiest resolutions for the future, as here?—Neander.

may fight without danger; for here to die is gain, and to conquer is glory. For the rest, my brethren, I exhort you, yet not I, but the apostle by me, 'not to believe every spirit.' We have heard with joy how ye are burnt up with zeal for the cause of God; but beware that it be not a zeal without knowledge. Ye must in no wise persecute the Jews, neither may ye shed their blood, nor even drive them out of the land. Confute their perverseness through the sacred writings, for they are to us as living pictures, setting before our eyes the sufferings of the Lord; and therefore are they scattered in all lands, that they, continually bearing the righteous punishment of their iniquity, may at the same time bear witness to our deliverance. Yet when their set time is come, God shall again turn the light of His countenance upon them. If we had equal reason to expect the conversion of the Saracens, we ought likewise rather to bear with them than to pursue them with the sword. But since they are now the aggressors, and have laid violent hands upon us, it is the duty of those who bear not the sword in vain, to repel force with force, and it is equally consistent with the spirit of Christian love to fight against the arrogant and haughty, as to spare those who are humbled; especially those whose are the promises, and of whom according to the flesh came the Fathers and Christ. I will not now tell you that if the Jews have sinned as usurers[3], the Christian usurers are, alas! far

[3] The usury practised by the Jews was so cruel and excessive, that they not only seized the goods but the persons of their creditors, and reduced them to a state of slavery, even selling them into captivity. The popes endeavoured to restrain these excesses, but in vain; for the Jews were supported by the sovereigns of Europe, and especially by Philip Augustus, who received a tribute from them, that they might be permitted to continue their exactions.—Vide Mezerai.

worse than the Jews, if indeed they are to be called Christians, and not rather baptized Jews.

"Yet once I must warn you, my most beloved brethren, that in case any among you wishing to be first shall seek to anticipate the army of his country in the expedition, ye do by no means permit it, and if he give out that he was sent by us, it is a falsehood; or if he even show letters as from us, hold them to be supposititious and forged.

"Men skilful in the art of war must be chosen for leaders, and the Lord's army must march forth in a body for the general defence, that it may not be exposed to attacks from all quarters, as was the army in the former crusade, under the conduct of a certain Peter of whom ye have all heard. This Peter setting out with his own followers only, precipitated the people who had trusted to him into such dangers, that but few of them escaped, the greater number falling victims to hunger or to the sword. I dread therefore lest, if ye follow the like course, ye should meet the like fate, from the which may God preserve you; to whom be glory for everlasting. Amen!"

Immediately after his return to France, in the year 1147, Bernard was summoned to attend a numerous assembly of the French nobles at Etampes, for the election of a Regent during the absence of the king[4]. A

[4] The first day of the meeting was occupied in giving audience to the ambassadors of Konrad, and the deputies of Geysa, king of Hungary, who came to promise a free passage through the dominions of their respective masters to the crusaders. The letters of the Greek Emperor Manuel Comnenus were also read, and contained the most emphatic protestations of friendship, in answer to the notification which had been sent to him of the crusade. The oriental and hyperbolical style of these missives seems to have

still more solemn assembly met at the abbey of St. Denis at Easter, in order for Lewis to receive the bene-

given great offence; and Godfrey, bishop of Langres, according to Odo de Diogolo, out of compassion to the king, who was covered with confusion at the fulsome flattery, and wearied beyond bearing with the interminable phrases of the reader and interpreter, at last interrupted them, saying, "My brethren, talk not so largely of the glory, the excellence, the virtues, and the wisdom of our king; he knows himself, and we know him too. Tell him then more concisely and more plainly, what you have to say."

Odo, who was himself one of the crusaders, refuses to write the name of the Emperor Comnenus, because, says the honest and indignant chronicler, "his name is not written in the book of life."

The second day was devoted to the discussion of the route to be taken; and the ambassadors of Roger, king of Sicily, proposed the transport by sea, as the most expeditious and the safest. They enforced their arguments by allusions to the ancient and proverbial treachery of the Greeks, and to their perfidious conduct in the first crusade. Unfortunately, these wise counsels did not prevail, and it was decided that the army should descend the valley of the Danube to Constantinople.

On the third day the attention of the assembly was entirely directed to the interests of the French kingdom. Odo gives the following account of the manner in which the business of choosing a Regent was conducted. "After abbot Bernard had prayed for the guidance of the Holy Spirit, king Loys, restraining his power according to his custom, by the fear of God, relinquished the choice to the prelates and nobles. They retired to deliberate, and on their re-entrance, Bernard walking before them, pointed with his finger to the abbot Suger, and William, count of Nevers, saying, "These are the two swords that we have made choice of, "it sufficeth."

"This double choice," continues Odo, "would have pleased every body, if it had but pleased one of the Regents chosen; but the Count of Nevers declared that he had vowed to retire from the world, and to join the Chartreux, which he shortly afterwards did, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the king."

Suger long resisted the imposition of a dignity which was rather a burden than an honour, but at last, overcome by the entreaties of his sovereign, and the orders of the pope, he accepted the

diction and the consecrated banner from the pope himself. Eugenius came accompanied by Bernard, and Lewis fell upon his knees before them and entreated their blessing. Bernard and Eugenius then opened a golden casket which they had brought with them filled with crucifixes, and these they displayed before the king in order to inspire him with fresh ardour.

Eugenius then, leading him to the altar, delivered to him the consecrated standard, and the pilgrim's scrip with the papal benediction [5].

In the course of the year a numerous host of crusaders took their departure for the East [6]. So powerful in this

Regency; and the noble, disinterested integrity with which he administered the affairs of the kingdom is well known."—Ratisbonne, &c.

[5] The grand master of the Templars, who with 130 of the Temple-knights had come from Jerusalem, to escort king Louis to the East, was present at this imposing ceremony, anxious that the papal benediction should be personally bestowed on himself and *his* army, also. Konrad sent embassy on embassy to the pope, intreating him to come into Germany; Eugenius, however, refused to accede to these repeated invitations, for reasons which historians have interpreted diversely, certainly not from any desire manifested by the Parisian clergy to detain him, for the expenses of his entertainment fell so heavily upon them, that from murmurs they proceeded to personal violence, and on occasion of a solemn procession to St. Genevieve, the canons of that Church, armed with rods, fell on the pope's attendants, and beat them so rudely that blood flowed in the scuffle. The offenders were severely punished, being deprived of their Church, which was given to the canons-regular of St. Victor; but the disturbances continued, the sacred offices were interrupted, and at last Suger was obliged to interpose his authority; and the threat of putting out their eyes and tearing their limbs asunder, ("Oculorum excæcationem et membrorum terribiliter promisimus." Epit. Suggerii, 59) alone re-established order among these refractory sons of the Church.

[6] Louis was accompanied by his queen, and, animated by her

age was the influence of *sensations*[7] of devotional remembrance, that men of all ranks left their goods and their example, many of the ladies of her court took part in the expedition; indeed, the number of women that joined the army was so great, that mounted on horseback, splendidly armed and accoutred as Amazons, they formed themselves into a separate squadron, under the name of queen Eleanor's guard. These ladies sent distaffs to any young men who had failed to obey the summons to the holy war.—Lord Lyttelton.

It appears from contemporary records, that one great difficulty which Bernard had to encounter in preaching the crusade, originated in the religious associations for the building of churches, then the great object of popular devotion. These associations were regularly organized, and persons of both sexes and of all ranks aspired to the honour of labouring in them. No one could be admitted till he had reconciled himself to God, by a devout and humble confession of his sins, a vow of obedience to the superior of the association, and an engagement to perform all the offices of charity for the sick. The congregation then marched over hill and dale, under the conduct of a priest, and with banner displayed, to the field of their joint labours. Some curious details on this subject may be seen in a letter given by Mabillon, Arm. Ord. S. Bernd. t. vi. p. 392. It was written in the year 1145, by Haimo, abbot of St. Pierre in Normandy, who saw a magnificent cathedral rising on the site of his humble parish church.

"Who has ever heard of such a thing?" exclaims the astonished abbot, "who has ever seen princes, mighty lords, men-at-arms, and delicate women, bend their necks to the yoke to which they suffer themselves to be attached like beasts of draught, so as to move heavy burdens? Sometimes thousands of them are to be seen fastened to one machine, of great weight, loaded with wheat, wine, and oil; with lime, stone, and all the materials necessary for the workmen, which they drag from surprising distances. Nothing stops their progress; neither hills, valleys, nor rivers, which they cross as did formerly the people of God. And what is still more wonderful, this innumerable company pursues its march without noise or confusion. Their voices are never heard except at a given signal, when they are raised to implore pardon for their sins, or to chant the praises of God."

It will be evident that these associations, so interesting to the

homes, and were ready to lay down their lives to deliver from the hands of the infidel those localities which they justly regarded as the most sacred in the world, from their having been hallowed by events the most sublime and touching, and of universal interest; and to open them again for the access of piety and devotion. It was, indeed, a *mistake* to seek by violence and blood, the conquest of that place from which peace was to be shed abroad upon the whole human race; and these rude warriors, actuated by devotional sensations which they but imperfectly understood, and which were inadequately impressed on their inner being, were often carried away by the impulses of passion and sensuality; still, in the enthusiasm which animated the nations for an object unintelligible to the senses, in the extraordinary efforts for an extraordinary end, we recognize the traces of man's illustrious origin. Lowest in the scale [of excellence], and false in the greatest degree to the primitive nobility of man, stands he, who, in the coldness of intellect, looks down upon these times in a spirit of affected compassion, proceeding not from the overpowering influence of *genuine reality* on the mind, but from the circumstance of his assuming *that* only to be real, which is, in truth, the very lowest degree of seeming, and thus regarding as a delusion what is here the *beautiful*, the labouring and

imagination, presented a formidable obstacle to the successful preaching of the crusade.—Ratisbonne. It must have been difficult to persuade men who had consecrated their lives to the advancement of the cause of religion in their native land, and who were daily cheered by the sight of their daily progress, to desert the sacred work in which they were engaged, for an object of remote interest, and dubious attainment. Yet even this obstacle was surmounted by the eloquence of Bernard.

[7] German, Empfindungen.

the venturing for an object which exists, and is of value, for the heart alone.

On the termination of this business in France, (4) Bernard went with the pope to Treves, where Eugenius had been invited by archbishop Adalbert, to make some regulations for the German Church, and to settle disputed points by his supreme authority. In his previous visits to Germany, Bernard had heard much of a certain abbess, the superior of a convent on the Rupertsberg, annexed to the town of Bingen, who was venerated by many as a saint and prophetess. The general opinion was greatly divided with reference to her; many honouring the grace of God in having, in these days of the Church's degeneracy, raised up a prophetess to rebuke the prevailing vices and abuses, and to announce the impending vengeance of Heaven; while others saw in her frequently unconnected discourses and enigmatical visions, nothing more than the confusion of a disordered intellect; and some regarded them as operations of the Evil Spirit, who ever seeks to deceive and to entice man to pride.

The soul being in connexion with two worlds; the one the seat of its *shrouded head*, hidden from our sight, but to which by its real nature it belongs; the other, foreign to its proper nature, but in which it is now embodied, and according to the laws of which it effects its development, and attains to the consciousness of itself: it is therefore natural that it should receive the influences of both worlds, and, where its relations to both have not been harmoniously cultivated, in accordance with the law of its temporal development, that these influences should be easily confounded, and should mutually cloud and perplex each other. The sense for the spiritual perception of the world beyond the ken of

the senses, exists also as a separate sense, which may predominate over the other faculties of the soul, or which may be hindered in its development and formation by the predominance of the lower faculties of the soul, so as to become overwhelmed; and this experience teaches.

At various periods there have been men in whom this sense has manifested itself, independently of all cultivation, and who, although unacquainted with human teaching, have had many glorious glimpses of the higher world, to which others have only been able to attain by patient reflection, in the common mode of human education. But, from the want of the regular and harmonious cultivation of the spiritual powers, it frequently and easily happens that such men confound in a singular manner feelings and objects of sense, with these revelations of the higher world; that, from being incapable of any careful and reflective self-knowledge, they regard many things as supernatural which have in fact had their origin immediately in the influence of the inferior powers of the soul. Hence the necessity of a strict *proving of the spirit*, for which, in Bernard's times, there was little capacity, in order to separate the divine from that which is but human and natural. Such men were moreover obstructed in making a clear communication of what they had conceived in their minds, by their ignorance of the nature of human language [scientifically considered], and its proper limitations: they endeavoured to express that which is immediate, immediately and at once; and forcibly, by working from their inward thoughts to outward things, to form a subjective language.

The Abbess Hildegard was one of these persons, and her sex exposed her still more to [the influence of] this perplexing confusion. From early childhood her soul had been filled with imagery, and with intuitive im-

pressions *(Anschauungen)*, without her having received the customary conventual instruction [6]. For many years she internally cherished these impressions, without communicating them to any one; but at last her whole being was disturbed by this inward brooding, her health gave way in the spiritual strife, and she felt herself powerfully constrained to communicate her state; when, after a time, she yielded to this constraint, she felt herself relieved. According to her own expressions, and those of her contemporaries, she had been commanded by a voice from heaven to impart its revelations to mankind; and that having failed to obey the voice, through diffidence, she had fallen sick; and that, immediately on her making the required communication, she had recovered. Although her health had suffered from these extraordinary impulses of the soul, and this again had had a reaction on her spiritual nature, she nevertheless attained

[6] The vivacity of these impressions induced her parents, the Count Hildebert and the pious Mechtilda, to devote her to the cloister, and she accordingly entered the monastery at the early age of eight. Her only instruction, however, seems to have been in learning to chant the psalms and to accompany herself with the psaltery. She herself says, "In the third year of my life, my soul was shaken by the radiance of a light that appeared to me. I did not then know how to speak of these visions, which continued to manifest themselves to me till the fifteenth year of my age; for I was surprised to see outwardly, what hitherto I had only perceived within me, and I inquired of my nurse if she had seen the same things, and she replied she had not; so that I was thrown into a state of great perplexity."

It was not till her forty-second year that she revealed these visions generally.

The volume printed at Cologne 1556, entitled "Sanctæ Hildegardis, &c. Epistolarum Liber," includes her correspondence, several treatises, the solution of thirty-eight problems, the explanations of the rule of St. Bennet and the creed of St. Athanasius, and the life of Hildegarde.—Ratisbonne.

the age of eighty. An inward feeling of the connection of the human soul with the Godhead, and an ardent and zealous striving to promote the cause of religion and morality, displayed themselves in her discourses. Regardless of consequences, she boldly reproved, even in the highest [dignitaries], the corruptions of the clergy, and thus drew down on herself the hatred of some among them; and she exhorted all men to a life of active piety.

The prevailing complaints of the general corruption of the Church naturally called forth prophesyings; the idea of a continual and still-increasing strife between good and evil, of a glorious triumph of the good, consequent on the greatest growth of evil, may be traced through the whole history of the human race. To the Jews it was communicated in the clearest manner as a national idea, through the special direction of God Himself; and by Christianity it was imparted in its highest, universal import, to mankind in general. It is also deeply rooted in the nature of the human mind; from thence issued all remarkable prophesyings. The view of the rising corruptions of the Church excites the expectation of an impending and yet fiercer struggle between the good and evil principles; of a purification of the Church in this struggle, and of a catastrophe through the final triumph of good, and the annihilation of evil. Lively images then present themselves as positive intuitions *(Anschauungen)*, and visions before the soul; and hence come prophesyings, which may be regarded as the announcements of a coming genius, and which are therefore repeated with increasing vivacity, till the great day of manifestation has dawned[9]. A great truth lies at the bottom of this, and the error originates solely in indivi-

[9] This might be Platonically expressed in the following manner:—The νοῦς (which receives the ideas, and overlooks all time) is

dualizing these images; in fixing their temporal development.

The information which Bernard had received concerning the life and visions of the Abbess Hildegard, during his first visit to Germany, had elicited the following expression of his sympathy:—

"That I should, in my insignificance, appear to any person otherwise than as my own consciousness tells me I am, is to be ascribed not to any merit in me, but to the foolishness of men. I hasten to write to you, although the pressure of business compels me to be shorter than I could wish. I wish you joy of the grace of God which you have received, and exhort you to receive it as of favour, in all humility and devotion, remembering that 'God resisteth the proud, and giveth grace to the humble.' And wherefore should I impart doctrine and exhortation to one who hath received the inward teaching, and the unction which is profitable for all things? For I hear that you have received from the Holy Ghost a spirit of knowledge whereby you are able to discern things passing mortal ken, and therefore the more I entreat you to be mindful of Him from whom you have received it; and then, I doubt not, that the connection of your spirit with the Spirit of God will be profitable to us all."

Now that, at the synod held by the pope in person at Treves, the nun whose fame was great in that district was again spoken of, Bernard took upon him to exhort the pope not to let the grace of God remain hidden, and, by way of protecting Hildegard against the persecutions and calumnies of her enemies, to give the sanction of his authority to her discourses and writings. In

not in error, but the ψυχή, to whose intuition the ideas are submitted.—Neander.

order to investigate the matter thoroughly, the pope thereupon dispatched certain trustworthy men to Hildegard's monastery, and by them her writings were brought back. The pope then ordered that they should be publicly read, and was so struck with certain passages as to read them over again himself. They were received with universal approbation, and excited great astonishment, and Eugenius wrote with his own hand to Hildegard in testimony of his approbation :—

" I am beyond measure astonished, my daughter, nor can I express my surprise at the wonders which God hath been pleased to display in our times; in that He hath so filled you with His Spirit, that you are able to see and reveal the things that are hidden; for that this is really the case I have understood from witnesses worthy of credit, who have been admitted to your presence and conversation. What, then, shall we say to this,—we, who have the keys of knowledge committed to our keeping, that we may both open and shut, and yet foolishly delay to exercise our wisdom in doing so?"

The influence of the Abbess Hildegard was greatly increased after this solemn recognition by the man who was the oracle of his age, and by the supreme head of the Church. Her fame spread abroad into all lands; theologians referred their disputes to her judgment; bishops and popes, princes and emperors, vied with each other in doing her honour, both personally and by letter, and solicited her advice. Among these was the Emperor Frederick the First, who, far from being in general actuated by a spirit of superstitious reverence for any assumed authority unaccompanied by inward worth, had boldly stood forward to oppose the pretensions and encroachments of the popes.

It is impossible, without feelings of admiration, to

contemplate this prostration of the great ones of the world, of those who dreaded no earthly power, before a power which they recognized as supreme above all that can be transmitted through man, and as superior to all the royalty of earth and its accompanying pomp; to see the greatest princes laying down the pomp of royalty at the feet of an insignificant nun, solely because they regarded her as the organ of the divine revelations, simply because they heard from her, words which penetrated their hearts; and to find even those who arrogated to themselves the power of binding and of loosing for heaven and earth, humbling themselves at the sound of a voice, proceeding directly from that kingdom, of which, according to the opinion of their contemporaries, *they* had the keys.

In the beginning of the year 1148, and after spending three months with the archbishop of Treves, Eugenius returned to France in order to hold a council which he had convoked for the month of March at Rheims, for the purpose of preventing the spread of the heretical sects, and of maintaining the orthodox faith, now again menaced by the arrogance of speculation. In these proceedings Bernard, who had nothing so much at heart as the preservation of the purity of doctrine, took the greatest interest. He here again attacked the system of treating theological subjects logically; that system which he had in vain endeavoured to overthrow in his controversy with Abelard. The speculative and dialectic party still maintained itself among the divines, although it did not include in its ranks any successor to the free and deeply-investigating spirit of Abelard.

One of the most distinguished of the party was, at this time, Gilbert, surnamed Porretanus, or De la Porret, who, after having diligently employed himself in logical

and philosophical studies, and given lectures on philosophy in several cities of France, had turned his attention to the study of divinity, and from his great reputation had been chosen bishop of Poitiers, in the year 1141.

As in the days of Socrates, the philosophy then forming itself was busied in investigating the contrast between the human thought (denken), and an objective external world,—the unity of human consciousness and its opposing multifariousness; hence the inquiry into the relation of ideas and general conceptions to the human understanding and to the external world; whether they had a self-dependent reality *(in the world or in God)*, or whether they were merely arbitrary conjunctions and abstractions of the human understanding. The reproof which the sophists incurred from Plato, " that straying from the question, they lost themselves in unprofitable subtleties and distinctions, through their formal logic; while, on the contrary, they altogether missed the actual distinctions between conceptions (Begriffe) and ideas (ideen), might have been addressed to these philosophers. From these philosophical disputations theological questions arose, for parties applied their theories on general conceptions, to theological objects [1]. Thus Abelard's heresy in the doctrine of the Trinity had been deduced from his nominalism.

Abelard had, indeed, distinguished between conceptions and ideas, asserting that the former have no intrinsic reality, and are merely abstractions and connections of the understanding, necessary only for the purposes of temporal thought and human language, in order to grasp

[1] As it happened in the Greek Church, after the Monophysite disputes in the sixth century.—N. The Monophysites asserted that there was but one nature in Christ after his incarnation.

and to treat of the multifariousness of individual objects; hence it might be truly said that he had declared general conceptions to be merely words: and thus, as Abelard's Sabellianism had been assumed from his nominalism, so now the tritheism of Gilbert was deduced from his realism. Gilbert, who is to be compared with John Philoponus, following the Aristotelian doctrine of general ideas, maintained that general conceptions become separated from individual things only through the human understanding, as well as these [individual things] from those [general conceptions]; that in these [individual things] they, i. e. general conceptions, have their reality and real being[2], and that these [individual things] obtain only through those [general ideas] their distinct and peculiar being; that in all created individual things many such forms must be collected together, in order to give them their definite being [that is to characterize them]; while the simplicity of the Divine Being consists in this, that It is wholly exhausted by the one conception, the conception of Godhead; and that all besides which man attributes to Godhead, as wisdom, goodness, omnipotence, and the like, are only practical expositions of this one general conception[3].

That this general conception of the Godhead was not, as such, substantially-existent, but possessed its reality in the individual persons that it embraces of the Father,

[2] S. O. Joh. Salisb. Metalogie, l. ii. c. 17.

[3] The notion here is that *the human understanding alone* separates general ideas from individual things; that the notions of individual created things are *complex*, containing an aggregate of many general conceptions to characterize them, while the notion of the Divine being is *simple*; as the one general conception of Godhead exhausts the whole stock of ideas; and wisdom and other attributes are only parts of that one general idea.

Son, and Holy Ghost. The want of this distinction between the twofold signification of the expression *Divine nature* [4], gave rise to Sabellianism, which, taking the expression only in the first sense, as denoting one substance, regarded Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, only as appellations of its qualities. Thus it was not the Godhead, in the first sense, *in abstracto*, but the determinate divine Individual who, as the Son of God, had become man. The peculiar qualities indicative of these several persons, and by which they become definite as such, must be distinguished from this general conception of the Godhead, and of the separate Divine Persons, since even the *neglect of this* distinction leads to Sabellianism [5].

Although Abelard had disputed against Gilbert of Poitiers, on account of his system of general conceptions, and its application to the doctrine of the Godhead, he was yet united to him by a common interest, their mutual love of philosophy, which both had defended against the attacks of its opponents. When Abelard was condemned by the sentence of the council of Sens, he had warned Gilbert by that Virgilian verse,—

"Tunc tua res agitur, paries cum proximus ardet [6]."

[4] Thus, either the general conception of the Divine Essence actually existing in the individual Divine Persons, or that contained in this conception, an indication of one of these Divine Persons in particular.—Neander.

[5] The doctrine of Sabellianism is no other than this,—that there was but one hypostasis or single individual essence of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and consequently that they were indeed but three several names, or notions, or modes, of one and the self-same thing.—Cudworth's Intellectual System.

[6] "Your interests are at stake when your neighbour's house is on fire."

And this warning had proved prophetic. Some exception was taken by two of the clergy of Poitiers at Gilbert's doctrine, and argument had only aggravated the offence; for Gilbert, who attached great weight to his own logical definitions, defended them with zealous warmth. Thereupon the two priests travelled into Italy to complain of their bishop to Pope Eugenius in person; but he had already set out on his journey to France, and put them off till his arrival in that country, when he would have the opportunity of investigating the matter more closely. In the meanwhile it was easy to prevail on Bernard to unite with them against Gilbert as a perverter of purity of doctrine. The investigation was to take place in the abbey of St. Denis, near Paris, before a council presided by Eugenius in person, during the Easter week of 1147, and Bernard appeared there as his accuser, supported by two masters of arts. But Bernard was no match for so dexterous a logician as Gilbert, and the decision of the matter was therefore adjourned by the pope to the great council at Rheims, where, assisted by his cardinals and by the most learned men of France, he announced his intention of hearing both parties. Bernard had now an opponent far more difficult to overcome than Abelard had been: Gilbert had followed the scholastic course in his studies, which had been pursued under the direction of the most celebrated theologians, and he had always confined his investigations within the limits of the Church system. He thus enjoyed universal respect and consideration, and numbered many of the most distinguished men among his disciples, and many of the cardinals among his friends. He now solicited the protection of the latter, and these were generally ill-disposed towards Bernard on account of his great influence with the pope, who submitted himself

in all things to his guidance. When all the other business of the council had been disposed of, Gilbert's business was brought forward, in order that it might be investigated at leisure by the most learned of the prelates, who alone remained in attendance. After a whole day had been well nigh spent in disputation, the pope, who was unaccustomed to follow such subtleties, said to Bishop Gilbert, "Thou canst indeed talk much, my brother, and hast, it may be, caused many things to be read which pass our comprehension: but tell us now plainly whether thou dost call that Supreme Existence, by virtue of whom the Three Persons are one God--*God?*" This was the point of the dispute most interesting and comprehensible to the pope. Without taking any time for consideration, Gilbert, exhausted by the length of the argument, answered, "*No;*" for, according to his opinion, that the quality or property of the Godhead was one general conception, common to the Three Persons: it was already decided[7]. Bernard immediately desired that this confession of the bishop might be taken down in writing, in order to bind the slippery disputant. On the following day the dispute was renewed, and Bernard, in the course of the argument, expressed himself in a manner displeasing to the cardinals; whereon Gilbert, in his turn, rose and said, "Now, let this also be written down." "Yea," rejoined Bernard, with his wonted firmness, "it may be written with an iron pen, and graven in the rock." When at length the disputation had been continued long enough, it was terminated by the intervention of the cardinals, who were desirous of showing their authority. "We have heard all that can be said on both sides; we will now determine how the matter is to be decided."

[7] i. e. The question was already settled in his mind, by the settlement of a previous question.

These words, by which the cardinals of Gilbert's party appropriated to themselves the right of decision, aroused the fears of Bernard; and he resolved, by means of his authority in the French Church, and his influence with the pope, to be beforehand with them. He quickly assembled the remaining prelates, abbots, and masters, and represented to them the necessity of preparing a creed in direct opposition to Gilbert's errors, to be presented to the pope and consistory, in order to preserve the Gallican Church from those errors. They united in the following confession of faith, which was probably drawn up by Bernard, and which was to be delivered to the pope.

"It is our stedfast belief that the *nature of the Godhead is God, and that it can, in no Catholic sense,* be denied, that the Godhead is God, and God is the Godhead. And when it is said that God is wise by virtue of His wisdom; great, by virtue of His greatness; and God by virtue of His Godhead, &c. &c., we must so understand it, that He is wise, great, and God, only through the wisdom, greatness, and Godhead, which are God Himself, and so forth; therefore that He is *of Himself,* wise, great, and God. In speaking of the three persons of the Godhead, we recognize Them as one God, one Divine Being, and on the other hand, in speaking of one God, one Divine Being, we acknowledge that this one God, this one Divine Being, is Three Persons. We believe that the Trinity alone is Eternal; and that no things, relations, qualities, or unities, can be asserted to have been from all eternity, without being God. We believe that the Godhead Itself, or, if it be preferred, the Divine Substance or Nature, did indeed, in the Son of God, become flesh."

This symbol of faith was presented by three distin-

guished prelates, with these words: "We, also, do herewith deliver to you our confession of faith, that you may not judge of one party only, but of both. Our opponent has presented his unto you, with this postscript, 'that you may amend whatever you find to censure therein;" but we exclude any such condition, and declare, in delivering to you this confession of our faith, that we must always abide by it, without the slightest alteration."

The pope was satisfied with this confession, and pronounced it to be in harmony with the doctrine of the Church of Rome. This greatly displeased the cardinals, and they unanimously declared to the pope the disgust they had so long entertained on the subject of Bernard's influence with him.

"You are to know," they said, "that it was by us you were exalted to be the ruler of the Church, and from a private man became the common father, and it concerns us as well as you, that you should not presume to prefer your private friendship to the common good, but that you should provide for the common weal, and assert the dignity of the Romish court, according to your duty. But what hath your abbot, and with him the Gallican Church thought fit to do? What audacity is this, that they should rebel against the Primate of the Apostolical throne, to whom alone appertaineth the right of binding and of loosing, and of deciding matters touching the Catholic faith, and who can not be prejudiced, even in his absence, in these his peculiar rights by any man, unless he be himself a party to the wrong. Yet now observe, these men, holding us altogether in contempt, and as though it were for them to decide upon the question which has just been discussed before us, have presumed, without consulting us, to draw up their confes-

sion of faith. Yet even in the East, when any such question is agitated before all the patriarchs, they can determine nothing positively without our authority. How dare these men then to do that in our presence, which is not permitted to the more remote, to those who are greater than we? It is therefore our pleasure that you oppose yourself to this impertinent innovation, and at once reprove their refractory spirit."

Eugenius, who, on the one hand, durst not oppose himself to the will of the cardinals, and, on the other, was most anxious to avoid mortifying his former master, was thrown into a state of the greatest perplexity by this explanation; he did his best to soothe the irritated feelings of the former, and sent in haste for Bernard, to intreat that he would devise some means of adjusting the matter. Bernard appeased the cardinals by the submissive turn which he gave to his proceedings, declaring that it had never been his intention, or that of the bishops, to *determine* the question; but that since the bishop of Poitiers had desired him to set down his confession of faith in writing, he had, in order to avoid doing this solely on his own responsibility, expressed his individual opinions under the authority and with the concurrence of those prelates. The cardinals were satisfied with this, and only required further that the creed should be regarded simply as a private memorial, not as an authorized creed, such as those drawn up by general councils in opposition to heresies, and they were undoubtedly right in their decision, although they erred in the grounds which they alleged for it. Why overwhelm the Church doctrines with logical definitions unintelligible to the generality of men, and tending to paralyze the energies of the mind and the heart, by abstracting the mind of the disciple from the realities of religion?

The authority of the cardinals prevented any definitive sentence against Gilbert of Poitiers; the pope confined himself to the condemnation of his first doctrinal article, (on which indeed his whole theory was based) declaring that without distinguishing between the Divine Nature and Persons, the Godhead is in the strictest sense to be called God. Gilbert submitted himself to the judgment of the pope, reconciled himself with his clergy, and returned with undiminished honour to his diocese[8]. The spirit of the times was opposed to the total suppression of the speculative theology; and the attacks which Abelard and Gilbert had sustained, had only the effect of clipping its wings and driving it to shelter itself under the authority of the fathers, and to confine its activity within the limits of the Church system. Such was the origin of the work which became a text-book for succeeding generations, the *Libri Sententiarum* of Petrus Lombardus.

There was nothing in the speculative theology which could lead to any reformation of the Church, or to any separation between the earthly and the heavenly, in the doctrinal conceptions of the Church. The speculative theologists received the doctrines of the Church

[8] At this council of Rheims, the Breton fanatic, Eon de l'Etoile was condemned. This wretched madman announced himself as the judge of the quick and the dead, from the similarity between his own name and the word Eum, in that versicle of the service for exorcising malignant spirits, "Per *Eum* qui venturus est judicare vivos et mortuos." The pope considering him to be rather insane than heretical, committed him to the safe keeping of Suger, who kept him in prison for the remainder of his life. In spite of the extravagance of his delusion, Eon had followers who persisted in endeavouring to propagate it, and it was not till some of these unhappy men had been committed to the flames as heretics, that the preaching of this wild conceit was put a stop to.

just as they were presented to them; and then, in virtue of the universal capacity of the human understanding to construct and to deduce, they built up an organized system, framed of artfully mingled truth and falsehood, by which the mind and heart were alike led captive. Men, absorbed by the speculative, were particularly indisposed for exercising a general influence on their contemporaries for the revival of genuine religion; and as in this world one contradiction ever elicits another, so at this time there appeared a set of men, who seeking in religion only animation, comfort, and awakening for the *heart*, were thus led to strive for a pure primitive Christianity [9], and who through the powerful energy with which they laboured, and their extensive agency, became far more dangerous to the churchly theology than the speculative divines could have been. These men having laboured, more especially in the south of France, and established numerous sects there, Bernard, who had the cause of Church orthodoxy so deeply at heart, came forward as their most zealous opponent. But before we proceed to the history of Bernard's contest with these sects, or to that of their peculiar characteristics, it is our wish to offer some of the leading features of Bernard's theology in relation to the spirit of these sects; and since these may fairly be considered as representing the principles of the recognized teachers of the age; we shall thus be enabled to form a correct estimate of the relation between this theology and the pure Christianity for which the sectaries struggled; for we might otherwise be easily beguiled by their half well-founded, half one-sided and passionate complaints, into the injustice of looking only

[9] Urchristenthum, German.

for superstition, idolatry, and mental and spiritual bondage in the theology of the orthodox divines. We should indeed grievously err if we were to trace the origin of all will-worship and superstition to their system; while on the contrary, these illustrious divines did in reality attack with pious zeal the ceremonial observances and the superstition so inimical to the cause of morality; the source of the greatest corruptions of the Church is to be traced to the wretched condition of the great body of the clergy, who, destitute of religious interest, and without insight into the substance of Christianity, had no power to make any practical application of the truths of religion to the hearts of the people. It is another question whether the standard theology of this century, although it might still be animated by the spirit of pure Christian veneration, did not contain the basis and germ of those representations which paved the way for, and advanced the progress of superstition. Now superstition consists not so much in any particular mode of worship, considered independently, as in the relations existing between this worship and the inward religion of the heart.

Bernard grasped, in the root, the inward corruption of human nature, with its real internal remedy; superstition, on the contrary, contemplates all objects externally and individually, and seeks *without*, for that which it should rather look for in the heart of man. He represented the love of God as the animating principle, and the source of all truly good actions, and its opposing selfishness as the principle of all evil. Superstition, on the other hand, wages no war with selfishness, and never for a moment loses sight of its peculiar individuality, whence all its anxious fears, and all its striving after varied external modes of appeasing the dreaded Deity. The conscious-

ness of communion with God must necessarily elevate man above the influence of a narrow-minded superstition.

In one of his sermons Bernard says[10],—"By *self-denial* we lose nothing, but, on the contrary, gain much; for we exchange our own will for a better, so that that which was before an *individual* will, is now become the *universal* will, and that will is *love*. How can that man have compassion on his brother, who, being led captive by his *own* will, is incapable of participating in the feelings of others? Or how can he, who loves none but himself, be said to hate the evil, and love the good? And I call that self-will which is not common to us with God and mankind in general; and which prompts us to choose as our motive of action, not the glory of God, not the good of our brother, but our *own private* advantage. What is it in us which God hates and punishes but our natural will? It is for this He corrects us. Let this natural will but once cease, and there is no more hell for us.

"All our sufferings and chastisements are caused by this natural will, and this being annihilated, suffering and chastisement must be annihilated with it. Self-will is unbounded in its strivings; yea, the whole world would not suffice it; it would even extinguish the very being of God, inasmuch as it includes a wish that He were not wise and holy and Almighty, so that He might not have the power or the inclination to see and to punish sin."

Inward peace and calm reliance on God, producing a free and devoted love of holiness, were considered by Bernard as necessarily connected with true conversion. "It is fit thou shouldst believe[1]," says he again, "that

[10] S. 907. Opp.

[1] Opp. p. 978.

thy sins can only be blotted out by Him against whom alone thou hast sinned, and who is exalted above all evil; but yet to this thou must add the special belief that *thine own* particular sins are forgiven through Him, and that is the witness of the Holy Ghost in thine heart; and thou must also needs have the testimony of the Holy Ghost in thine heart, touching eternal life, that thou shalt, through God's grace, attain to the same[2]."

In conformity to these principles, he emphatically declared, that, without this real change of heart, all ceremonial observances were but hypocrisy; and Church confession and penance, although necessary means of amendment, yet altogether unavailing, when unconnected with the intention[3]. "The superficial transparency of an outwardly pious course cannot co-exist

[2] The freeness and nature of the grace of God he thus describes: — "Happy is he alone to whom the Lord imputeth not sin. To have Him propitious to me, against whom alone I have sinned, suffices for all my righteousness. Not to impute my sins is, as it were, to blot out their existence. If my iniquity is great, Thy grace is much greater. When my soul is troubled at the view of her sinfulness, I look at Thy mercy, and am refreshed. It is a common good, it is offered to all, and he only who rejects it is deprived of its benefits. Let him rejoice who feels himself a wretch deserving of perpetual damnation; for the grace of Jesus still exceeds the quantity or number of all crimes. 'My punishment,' says Cain, 'is too great for me to expect pardon.' Far be the thought. The grace of God is greater than any iniquity whatever. There is no sin greater than to despair of the forgiveness of sin, for God is kind and merciful, plenteous in mercy, ready to forgive. His very nature is goodness, His property is to have mercy; for He hath mercy on whom He will have mercy, and whom He will He hardeneth. But mercy He draws from His own nature; condemnation is a work to which we in a measure compel Him. He is therefore not called the Father of vengeance, but the Father of mercies."

[3] P. 1004.

with the Spirit of God, which penetrates and dwells in the depths of the heart. Is it anything but the most monstrous hypocrisy to remove the sin from the surface, instead of eradicating it from the heart? Wouldst thou behold a dwelling swept and garnished, and yet empty, —look at the man who hath confessed and forsaken his notorious sins, and who now moveth only *his hands* to fulfil the commandments, with a mechanical activity in which the heart takes no part. Of externals, which verily profit little, he foregoes not one tittle; but, while he is straining at a gnat, he swalloweth a camel, for in his heart he is the slave of selfishness and ambition: and thus doth iniquity mock itself, but God is not mocked. We see too many such men, so cloked that they may deceive even themselves, and disregard the worm that is consuming their vitals."

There was certainly nothing superstitious, nothing but what is perfectly consistent with the spirit of Christianity, in that reverential and heart-stirring custom of the primitive Church, by which, on the anniversaries of their decease, she commemorated those holy men who had laboured for the kingdom of God, through life and in death; giving thanks for the grace of God which had worked by them, and setting them forth as examples for imitation. It was in this light that the festivals of the saints were regarded by Bernard in his sermons on these commemorations. "We must rather seek our own edification, by contemplating the virtues of the saints, and so strengthening ourselves to imitate them, than lose ourselves in admiration of those things, that the grace of God was pleased to effect by them. Let us strive to become like them in disposition, since, if we would, we cannot resemble them in wonders[4]."

[4] Opp. ep. 970.

It was also a fine idea, and one grounded in Christianity, that all the members of the invisible Church, united by the bond of love, mutually supported each other as members of one body; and that this bond, instead of being dissolved, was rather drawn closer by death; that they who, after passing through the struggle of this *mortal* life, have attained the crown of *everlasting* life, still retained a lively recollection of their frail brethren yet on earth, and succoured them in their conflicting strife with all the powers now committed to them. This thought must needs have exercised a very animating influence on men of sanguine temperament, and hence the origin of the belief in the intercession of departed saints. Bernard thus expresses these thoughts[5]:

"The saint hath not so attained to the grace of glory as that he should therefore forget our misery and his own compassion. The land of the saints is not the land of forgetfulness,—it is not earth, but heaven: the amplitude of heaven doth not contract the heart, but enlarge it. Do those higher spirits, who have dwelt in heaven from the beginning, therefore despise the earth? 'They are all ministering spirits, sent forth to minister to them who shall be heirs of salvation.' And must not they, who have accomplished their warfare here, be still more familiar with the country? Yea, verily, they whose abode is with the fountain of All Compassions, must needs have become even more compassionate."

But when this, which was a presentiment of the human mind, assumed by the individual judgment of the heart, and concerning which no certain knowledge had been imparted to man, was established as a dogma, and defined as something essentially connected with re-

ligion, it had a baneful tendency. The manifestation of the Godhead in its clearest reflection, the life of Christ, ought to inspire men with a childlike confidence in the Original Source of their being, and to fill up the gulf between God and man. But, instead of giving themselves up wholly to this confidence, and thus rising above themselves, men were induced, in a spirit of false humility, which kept their eyes fixed on their own sins, to devise new and more nearly-connected mediators between themselves and the Most Holy. "Christ," says Bernard[6], "is in His twofold nature the Most Holy, Who hath committed no sin. And how should I, who have sinned above measure, presume to draw nigh unto Him Who is perfect purity,—I who am altogether impure? I must, indeed, needs fear lest I fall into the hands of the living God, if I should dare to approach or to lay hold on Him, from whom I am divided by so great a gulf as that which severs good from evil; and therefore hath God given to me those who, having been men and sinners, might of and from themselves learn mercy towards others."

It is true that these representations were not directly injurious to inward religion among those men in whom the love of God and goodness already existed intrinsically; their strivings after good were not lessened by their confidence in those mediators; these were but images adapted to the subjective determinations of their minds, and led to no forgetfulness of the One Mediator between God and man, or of that paternal love of God which was the object of their veneration in the saints, and to which they ascribed all virtuous emotions. But it was a fruitful source of error to the rude masses, in

[6] P. 994.

whom the moral sentiment had to be first awakened by religion,—in whose hearts the image of God was as yet overpowered by wild sensuality, and who were thus only the more liable to be led to form false representations of the justice of God, and of the means of reconciliation with Him. Such men, who regarded this reconciliation as somewhat external, and to whom any support for their immorality was acceptable, trusted to the intercession of other mediators, instead of striving after inward communion with God, whom in their works they denied. The more enlightened Church teachers did indeed oppose themselves to these vain impressions[7], as we have already seen in several instances; but the many rested in that which was nearest to them, and the number of these better teachers was too small, in proportion to that of the degenerate priests with whom the people were most familiar, for *their* opinions to have any general efficacious influence.

Christianity has, however, approved itself in all times and in all places as that "salt of the earth," which is opposed to every spiritual corruption. The sanctity which renders Christianity the common good of all mankind, could never, by any violence, be utterly abstracted from her; the inward sense of the human mind had once been opened by her, and it broke forth but the more forcibly for having been awhile suppressed. When they, to whom the key of knowledge was committed, entered not in themselves, and also withheld it from others, the better, but uncultivated minds were led by the inherent power and significancy of those essential doctrines of Christianity, which no admixture of human ordinances could altogether disguise, to a loftier,

[7] Wahn-vorstellungen, German.

clearer, and deeper apprehension, than their teachers either could or would have imparted to them. A mysticism illuminating the mind through the heart was thus evoked, and the Bible was still circulated in private. Those who sought [the truth] in simplicity and honesty, and received the *scriptures alone* without learned commentaries, without any acquaintance with times and local connections, were thus guided by them to a deeper knowledge of their own hearts, and of their divinely-allied nature.

The first revival of a more animating and generous religious spirit, of a struggle against the contracting influence of human dogmatizing, proceeded in this century from that region whence the Sun of the spiritual world had first shed abroad His quickening and illuminating beams—from the East. From an early period, and amid many persecutions, sects of Manicheans and Gnostics had still maintained themselves there; and the state of literal orthodoxy and of paralyzing catholicism into which Christianity had been gradually sinking in the latter ages, joined to the cold dialectic mode of religious disputation, had tended to promote the increase and extension of these mystic sects. With these were combined other influences; the promise of a superior knowledge, which should solve the enigma of the world[8]; the contempt of the blind faith of the generality of Christians; these were alluring to vanity; and there was much that was attractive and heart-stirring in the close and intimate union and *ecclesia pressa* as opposed to the dominant and persecuting Church, which had become corrupt through the superfluity of its temporal possessions.

Driven by the heat of persecution from the other pro-

[8] Das Rathsel der Welt losender.

vinces of the Greek empire, these sectaries had congregated especially in Armenia, and the remnant, purified during the season of persecution from heterogeneous admixtures, and refined to a clearer Christian mysticism, made its appearance towards the end of the seventh century, renovated by this change of spirit, under the name of Paulicians. Their intimate acquaintance with the Bible, their biblical tendencies, had imparted to them a Christian unction, a practical religious spirit, attractive to all men of feeling, and productive of much good; they led back the laity to the fountain-head of all religion, and forwarded the universal study of the Scriptures, which the pharisaical priests had withheld from the people. Their peculiar tenets had a deep foundation in the human mind; for instance, the sublime idea that all spiritual life is a participation of the Essence of the Godhead, definitively appointed to manifest this Essence; the idea of the Supreme Being, Whose Breath is Life, and Whose Love is Creation; the idea of the Emanation, when it is only spiritually embraced, apart from all sensuous images by which our thoughts become so easily perplexed. (It was nevertheless salutary, that the Christian teachers of the first centuries, who although they also had an Emanation theory in their doctrine of the λόγος did for the most part speak against the doctrine of the Emanation, because men were not yet generally capable of receiving it, and might, like many of the Gnostic sects, be easily misled by it into enthusiastic extravagances; the Christian doctors then took a safer way to that which is the main point, to the belief in the godlikeness of human nature.) A creation *thus positive*, and flowing from the Essence of the Godhead is, though *inconceivable* by man, yet capable of being shadowed forth and pictured to this mind, through a certain analogy of his own spiritual nature; on the con-

trary, that temporal and material world, which is foreign to the nature of the spirit; that law of necessity which he sees presiding here, and placing itself in opposition to [the law of] freedom, appear to him incompatible with the nature of the Godhead, with the eternally-imparting love. Hence the doctrine circulating among the sects, of a kingdom of darkness and evil, opposed to the kingdom of light and of goodness, which had either existed eternally, or had been produced by some accident; of a mixture of good and evil prior to the existence of the visible world, and of the creation as the result of a purpose to purify the good from all extraneous to it, by means of a struggle, and thus to lead it back to its kindred [nature]. The belief in such an origin and destiny elevated their hearts above the sufferings of earth, strengthened them for the conflict through which they were to attain the good, and facilitated their extension, although many thousands of them, in the eighth and ninth centuries, fell victims on the scaffold to a leaden despotism, to which every generous aspiration of the mind was obnoxious. During the persecutions of these centuries, the sects propagated their tenets in the neighbouring countries, and particularly in Bulgaria, owing to the unsettled state of the Christian Church, which had not long been planted there; and it is probable that from them, the [9] *Bogomiles*, who in after times rose up against the hierarchy of that kingdom, derived their origin. Amid the disturbances of the tenth century, they might easily pass over at once, some

[9] Spanheim says of these Bogomiles, "Their founder was one Basilius, who was at length burnt in the reign of Alexander Comnenus. They professed great humility and sanctity, and much devotion and strictness of life. It is difficult to discover whether they rejected any fundamental doctrine of the faith, although they were accused of denying the article of the Incarnation of Christ."

from Greece to Italy and the south of France; (8) to Germany and the Netherlands; some from Bulgaria into Austria, and the other provinces of the Germanic empire. The same causes which had increased their numbers in the East, served now to promote their extension among the European nations; and amid the distracting commotions (9) by which these were at that period agitated, they might more easily elude discovery than in the East. In the seventh century, indeed, many members of these sects had been discovered and put to death in different countries as heretics, either judicially or by the people; but in spite of all obstacles their numbers continued to increase till the twelfth century, not alone among the lower ranks, but also among the clergy and the monks. They were occasionally protected by the influence of some powerful knight, who either found in their doctrines a more vivifying influence for the heart, than in the tenets of the Church; or who was connected with them by the common link of hatred to the clergy. But the sectaries who were confounded under one common name, (Kathari was the most general) (10), were by no means like-minded, or of one common origin. Many of them had received nothing more than their first impulse and their acquaintance with the Bible from these oriental sects, and once aroused to vital religion, this vitality had developed itself in its own peculiar manner; others there were, who had needed no such impulsion, and in whom the devotional study of the Bible had begotten a practical mysticism; but the internal analogies perceptible in all, might easily lead men to attribute to them the same Manicheism or Gnosticism. In addition to their peculiar Gnostic tenets, the sects were distinguished by their endeavours after the literal fulfilment of the Gospel precepts, (hence their pro-

hibition of oaths) and the restoration of the Church to its primitive, and *strictly spiritual agency* and Apostolic simplicity. They disclaimed all the dogmas which had been superinduced on the primitive Christian doctrines; such as purgatory, the veneration and intercession of saints, as well as the whole hierarchical constitution and form of worship. In their zeal for genuine religion they attacked the mechanical ceremonial-worship, and the efficacy attached to external acts of religion, to which a magical power was ascribed. "The sacraments," they said, "can in no wise be efficaciously administered by the degenerate priests of the dominant Church; since in these there is no question of externals, but of the inward intention, in which these men are wanting. The true baptism is that of the Holy Ghost, whereby men are inwardly purified and sanctified, the baptism by water being merely symbolical; infant baptism is useless, because infants are incapable either of faith, of purpose of amendment, or of the reception of the Holy Spirit, and consequently there was no manifestation of it in the lives of men. The true signification of the Lord's Supper is also spiritual, importing union with Christ as the True Bread of the soul through His doctrine." The grounds which they urged in proof of the symbolical meaning of the Lord's Supper were similar to those adduced by its defenders at the era of the Reformation, from the sixth chapter of the Gospel of St. John, where it is so plainly declared, that "the flesh profiteth nothing." Some applied the pronoun τοῦτο (this), in the words of institution, to the Body of Christ, to which He might have pointed. Others interpreted the words of institution figuratively, appealing to the analogy of various passages in the Bible, where the *to be* was taken in a *figurative* sense.

There must have been something peculiarly affecting and animating in the private assemblies of those sectaries, as described by their contemporaries. Those who wished to be admitted into their society were to come to them by night; the doors were closed, and the walls hung with lights. The brethren, in devout silence, formed a circle, into which the president of the association [1], holding a copy of the Gospels in his hand, introduced the novice; and after a short discourse, in which he exhorted him to ground his belief and hope of eternal salvation on God alone, he set the book of the Gospels on his head, prayed the Lord's prayer, and uttered over him the first words of the Gospel of St. John. The new member then gave to the president and to all in succession, the *kiss of brotherhood*, they united in prayer, and he was henceforward regarded as a brother. For a long time these sects flourished and increased, without being discovered as heretics, for they waged no open war with the Church; and, in order to escape suspicion, frequented the public worship, and if questioned concerning their faith, repeated the Apostles' creed. It was only in secret that they sought to disseminate their tenets; and at first, striving after practical Christianity alone, the piety of their lives, their unobtrusive and benevolent activity, had won for them the love and esteem of all men, before the discovery [of their heresy]. Thus it actually happened that a member of one of these sects, who had lived at Milan, in the thirteenth century, had been venerated by the people as a saint after his death, and miracles were even reported by them to have been wrought over his grave. It was only the investigation occasioned by the proposal of canonization from the

[1] Major or Ordinatus.—Neander.

popes of that period, that led to the discovery of his having been a heretic [7].

It was a German priest, the Provost Everwin of Steinfeld, who first invited Bernard to write particularly against these heretics, and to refute their tenets [8]. "You have already written sufficiently against the *pharisaical* spirit of the Christians, and your words have taken effect, even to the extremities of the earth, against the lukewarmness and degeneracy of nominal Christians. Now it is time that you should lift up your voice against the new heretics, who swarm in all the Churches, as if let loose from hell, in token of the coming wrath of Heaven." The occasion of this letter was the discovery of many of these heretics in the district of Cologne, of which the Provost communicated the intelligence to Bernard. Two distinct divisions had been found among them; the one, plainly revealing its foreign origin, maintained that it alone constituted the true Church, because its members followed the footsteps of Christ, seeking to lead an Apostolical life, and renouncing all temporalities; possessing neither houses, fields, nor property, even as Christ had neither possessed any, nor permitted his disciples to do so. "Ye, on the other hand," they said to the catholics, "follow after the goods of this world, so that even they who are accounted the most perfect among you, as the monks and regular clergy, still hold property in common, though each has renounced his individual proprietorship. We, on the contrary, are Christ's poor, who are ever fleeing from city to city,

[7] The name of this all but canonized heretic, and popularly venerated saint, was Armanno Pangilupo of Ferrara, in the latter part of the thirteenth century. The interesting record may be seen in Muratori Antiquitat. Ital. t. v. p. 93. et seq. Neander.

[8] P. 1490. opp. Bern.

like sheep among wolves, and leading a life of piety and mortification, watching day and night in prayer and labour, with fasting and abstinence, seeking only after those things which are needful to support life. All this we suffer because we "are not of the world." Ye, on the contrary, "are the friends of the world, and as such, are at peace with the world." [They asserted that] the catholics had nothing more than human ordinances in the sacraments, that their baptism was that of the Holy Ghost and of fire; for that John the Baptist had taught this when he said of Christ, "He shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost and with fire. I baptize you with water."

In their daily assemblies they celebrated the Lord's Supper after the manner of Christ and his Apostles, consecrating meat and drink by the Lord's prayer, and then feeding on it, as the body and the members of the Lord.

From these, Everwin distinguished another branch of these sectaries, which appears to have differed from the other principally in not embracing the Manichean doctrines and in adhering to a pure biblical mysticism. "The apostolical dignity," they said, was annihilated in the Church, through the admixture of secular employments; those who occupied Peter's seat, had from the want of Peter's holiness lost the power which had been committed to him, and the rest of the clergy could not therefore derive it from him; they could only, like the Pharisees, give precepts, which men might follow without having regard to their lives. Appealing to the sentence of Christ, "What God hath joined together, let not man put asunder," they called every marriage contracted between persons who had previously entered that state, an illicit connection; since separation had merely been permitted by Moses, on account of the

immorality of men, which is proved by the original appointment of God at the creation, to which man is bound to return. Fasting and penances they regarded as unprofitable alike to the good and the wicked, since, according to the declaration of the prophet, the sins of the latter were remitted, if they only sigh for them.

These heretics when discovered were brought before a numerous assembly of distinguished ecclesiastics and laymen, presided over by the archbishop. For a long time they defended their doctrines with arguments drawn from Scripture, for they had obtained permission to bring with them some of their more learned teachers, with the understanding that if these men should be convicted of error, and unable to answer the objections of their adversaries, they would themselves return to the bosom of the Catholic Church, but protesting that otherwise they would rather die for their doctrines than deny them. Three days were spent in vain endeavours to bring them to a change of mind; thereupon the populace furiously seized them, and, in opposition to the will of the clergy, hurried them to the scaffold, where they met death under the most excruciating torments, not only with patience, but with such extraordinary exultation, that the provost Everwin requested Bernard to explain to him how these members of Satan could, through their heresy, have attained to such stedfastness, as is hardly to be met with in the most pious and orthodox Christians? As to all men who have come forward as witnesses for the truth, so now the Spirit of Truth, the Holy Ghost, imparted also to these men the confidence that they were not alone, but that they belonged to an invisible assembly, whose members have been scattered abroad in all lands since the days of the martyrs: they stedfastly maintained, that their sects had secretly existed

up to those times, in Greece and in other countries; they styled themselves Apostolic brethren, and gave out that they had a pope of their own (13), which they probably understood only symbolically of Christ, their invisible Head; or of the Holy Ghost, by Whom they, though dispersed through all regions, were united into one Church. Some few, after submitting to penance, went over to the Catholic Church (hardly from honest conviction); many of them were dispersed in different countries, and among these were numbered even monks and priests. These particulars are confirmed by Bernard, who in his sermons frequently speaks against them. "Women," said he[9], "forsake their husbands and husbands their wives to join themselves to those *priests*, who have forsaken their Churches; the bearded and the beardless are now frequently to be found among weavers and weaveresses. They are of the common people, boors without knowledge;" (yet, according to Bernard's own avowal, there were monks and priests among them; the *characteristics of many* of their teachers, prove that they had also among them men of superior cultivation; they were all intimately acquainted with the Bible, and this is moreover precisely the reflection that had been cast on the disciples of Christ by the Pharisees and the cultivated heathen;) "their doctrines are rather acceptable from the readiness with which they at first sight commend themselves, than from their depth, and that only to countrywomen and ignorant persons." But in spite of his detestation of these heretics, Bernard was greatly displeased at their execution. "They were to be overcome," he said, "not with weapons but arguments, to be led back to the faith by teaching; but if these means

[9] S. 1495.

failed, the governing powers might then resort to force, in order to prevent their doing mischief."

But beside the sectaries, who had for the most part derived their origin by communication from the East, and were dispersed among the people of Europe, many individuals of the clerical order came forward as witnesses for a purer Christianity to oppose the ordinances of the Church, stimulated probably rather by the free study of the Bible, the feelings of the heart, and the enlightenment of the understanding, than by [the impulsion of] any external communication. It was but the natural course of human affairs that the appearance of a pure enthusiasm should call forth on the other hand a spirit of wild fanaticism and delusion; thus by the side of men animated by a genuine zeal for religion, we find a Tanchelin (14), a wild fanatic demagogue at Antwerp, and a visionary Eudes in Bretagne, who attracted crowds of followers. Even those better men, who in their struggle with the world, loudly declared the truths with which their hearts were filled, and lived and died for them, however upright their intentions and views, were not altogether calculated for the work of reformation, for this required not only the pure and holy, the fiery and powerful *will*, but the reflective *wisdom*, capable of distinguishing between heaven and earth, idea and agency (15), between the essential and the non-essential; to the eye accustomed to darkness, the truth which blinds it is not at first manifest. It is only Providence which leading men on, like children, step by step to the Highest, raises up reformers guided by the spirit of its own wisdom. The great Reformer of the human race, our Saviour Christ, did not begin by attacking all that was egotistical and earthly in the individual and national conceptions (Vorstellungen) of the Jews, beneath which, like the but-

terfly in its chrysalis, were concealed those more sublime ideas which Providence had committed to the guardianship and dissemination of this people. He attacked the disposition in which these conceptions had their origin, He placed the ideas themselves before the eyes of His disciples, clearly foreseeing that these ideas once rooted in the soul would gradually raise themselves from, and even effect the transfiguration of their earthly covering, as in the beautiful and genuine interpretation of one of the most spiritual of the Fathers, Origen. "Christ, to them who are *able to follow Him* on the Mount, sheweth Himself transfigured, and with Him and through Him Moses and the prophets transfigured also." No one has ever been fortunate as a reformer, who announced himself as such on his first appearance, and who led by the impulse of the *heart* alone, strove to realize on a sudden, that by which he was himself animated, and at once to effect *great things*. Such efforts are as a fire, catching rapidly to all around it, but operating rather destructively, than as an abiding warmth, or a clear and diffusive light, and which, after a hasty blaze, is quickly, though only *apparently* extinguished; for no struggle for the good can ever be vain or ineffectual, although it may for the moment appear to miscarry. The history of the world everywhere teaches us, that before any great light could manifest itself, it was necessary that its approach should be heralded by lesser lights, which after shining in the darkness seemed to disappear. In all cases of a decisive and general triumph of the right, the way must first be cleansed by [the blood of] victims who have fallen in its cause, and by attempts which have only miscarried because the time was not yet come. A voice from the past assures us, that He who goeth forth to do battle for the right, simply for righteousness' sake, is sure of

victory; and that although he should himself be overpowered, although for a season his work should be defeated, he has yet contributed thereby to the final triumph of the right in its appointed time.

In the beginning (16) of the twelfth century, a priest named Pierre de Bruys, made his appearance among the people of the south of France. Through the devotional study of the New Testament, he had embraced the pure worship of God, "in spirit and in truth;" but, from inattention to the mode of the Divine guidance of the human race, and from an insufficient study of the Bible, had failed to appreciate the means by which God is wont to train men for that religion of the heart, which is indeed the essential. Rightly recognizing the Internal as the alone essential, he assumed that this Internal can only exist in purity by itself, (not considering that the temporal life is distinct from the eternal, and that Christ Himself and his apostles had linked the most sacred internal feelings with outward symbols and institutions); and, in the heat of an honest disgust, he attacked all outward ordinances as inimical to the true worship of God, because he saw that the multitude confounded the means with the end, and placed religion in externals to the prejudice of true devotion and morality. He was thus led to reject infant baptism on account of the superstitious, and indeed blasphemous representations (vorstellungen), which had for a long time been connected with it, as if those persons only could be saved who had received outward baptism; he brought forward in evidence the words of Christ, "Whoso *believeth*, and is baptized, shall be saved." Thus *no vicarious faith* could be availing. But he did not stop to examine whether, although the outward form of baptism were not of and by itself efficacious to the baptized person, it

might not yet possess a sacred meaning, grounded in the intrinsic essence of Christian truth, and exhibited to man through this outward symbol; and whether the delusion might not have originated in the imperfect recognition of the relation between the sign and the internal holiness which it symbolized.

In speaking against the conceits which his contemporaries had associated with consecrated places, he says justly, "That God may be invoked in all places, from the shop as well as from the church and the altar, and will ever hear those who were deserving of it; that the true Church is formed, not by the piles of collected stones, but by the communion of the faithful." From thence he drew the conclusion that churches in general were unnecessary, and that all churches must therefore be pulled down.

Disgusted with the pomp of public worship, and the multiplied [ceremonies] which had converted it into a lifeless mechanical service, and the artificial chanting, addressed rather to the senses than the heart, he truly says, "that God taketh pleasure in the pious emotions of the heart alone, and that He is neither to be evoked by loud-sounding voices, nor conciliated by musical melodies;" but from hence he deduced the exaggerated inference, that "God is only mocked by church chanting." He spoke with senseless heat against that memorial which has awakened the most sacred devotion in the breasts of Christians, only because superstition had been connected with it. "The cross, as the memorial of the sufferings and martyrdom of Christ, ought rather to be despised and banished, in revenge for His death, than to be honoured among men."

This contempt for externals, together with the want of moderation, and the deficiency of his theological

knowledge, led him to the total rejection of the celebration of the Lord's Supper. "Christ," he said, "had, once for all, before His sufferings, produced His body in the bread, and distributed it among His disciples; therefore the celebration was not to be repeated." "O! trust not," he exclaimed to the unprepared multitude,—"trust not to your misleading clergy, who, as in many other things, so also in the service of the altar, deceive you, when they feign to produce for you the body of Christ, and to deliver it to you for the salvation of your souls."

The honest man spoke sensibly enough against the efficacy of masses and almsgiving for the souls of the deceased, that delusion so prejudicial to the cause of practical Christianity. "Every one," he asserted, "suffers after death, according to what may have been his deserts in life; there is no middle state." This unqualified denial was an assumption to which Pierre de Bruys was misled, like later reformers in their controversies against the Catholics, by the dogmas and abuses connected with [the doctrine].

For twenty years Pierre de Bruys laboured in the regions of the Pyrenees, in Provence, Languedoc, and Gascony, and his energetic discourses penetrated the hearts of many of the susceptible; but it was not, in general, a pure and gentle enthusiasm that was excited by his preaching, neither were his proceedings directed by a wisdom calculated to excite such a feeling. Instead of first crushing superstition in the roots of the intention, and thus clearing the ground in man's [heart], he began by attacking the external,—the observation of ecclesiastical ordinances, of fasts, of abstaining from meats on the fast-days,—practices in themselves absolutely indifferent: the danger lay in persuading rude

men, in a moment of excitement, to cast off restraints for which they had nothing better to substitute, and in deriding old and time-hallowed institutions, without regard to the weaker brethren, to whom they were still sacred. The result was, that the followers of Pierre de Bruys proceeded to pull down the churches and altars; and assembling on a Good Friday, brought together all the crucifixes that they could collect; then making a great fire of the wood, cooked flesh in open defiance of the authority of the Church, and invited all to the feast; that they went about scourging the priests, and compelling the monks to marry. And what other result could have been anticipated from the spirit of unbridled liberty pervading so rude an age,—when we see that at the kindred, though more advanced era of the reformation, all the caution of the reformers was insufficient to prevent men from confounding earthly licentiousness with Christian freedom, and to restrain the wild bursts of human passion?

After having preached for twenty years in various districts of southern France, Pierre de Bruys was seized by an infuriated mob, and conducted to the scaffold in the town of St. Giles, in Languedoc. But his principles had rooted themselves so deeply in the hearts of the people, that the abbot Peter of Clugni, erst so mild and tolerant, deemed it necessary to expedite to the bishops of the several districts a refutation of the tenets of these sects, and to exhort them to the total extirpation of heresy as the greatest evil of the Church. "The heretics," he writes, "must be driven from their lurking-places by your discourses, or, if needs must, by the armed might of the civil power; but yet it should be the object of Christian love rather to convert than to destroy them."

Many of the arguments urged by these sectaries were

so incontrovertible as to carry with them conviction, even to those who were otherwise entirely devoted to the Catholic Church. People had already begun to doubt whether the oblations of the living could avail the dead, and Peter therefore set himself to prove this in particular; but at the same time he availed himself of the occasion to administer a most impressive reproof to those Catholics who made their reliance on the alms and masses to be offered after death for their souls, an excuse for neglecting their own moral improvement. "As these heretics, of whom," says Peter, "I have hitherto spoken, do altogether deny the efficacy of the good works of the living for the dead, the ultra-orthodox, if I may so call them, have, on the contrary, ascribed to them an undue efficacy, and by relying too much on these pious prayers or good works of the living for the dead, they have grown cold in their zeal for prayer and for good works; thus converting what should have been a means of salvation into an inveterate poison. Eternal life is only to be attained from the grace of God, through faith which worketh by love; and the good works of the faithful can only, through the grace of God, avail him who leaves the world thus prepared, so as to supply his deficiencies, to repair his venial errors, and thus to mitigate his appointed time of purgation."

This refutation of the abbot Peter had but little effect among the Petrobrusians; they were at that time headed by a man of powerful talents and great activity, Henri by name, who had never followed Pierre de Bruys as a disciple, but, excited by a similar spirit, had first made his appearance in a remote country, in Switzerland, in the district of Lausanne. He had been a monk in some monastery of the Cluniac order, probably devoted to the cloister in childhood by his parents, and brought up

there. The diligent and devotional perusal of the Gospels had opened his mind to the truth, which he ardently embraced in all its purity. The picture of the apostles travelling in poverty through the world, for the purpose of publishing the truth; that of the affectionate fellowship of the primitive Christians, who, connected by no outward ties, lived together in the bond of a common faith and a mutual love, excited a holy enthusiasm in his soul, causing him to regard with still greater abhorrence the vices of his times, and the corruption of the Church, which had so widely departed from the apostolic model. The fire of youth rendered him still less capable than Pierre de Bruys of distinguishing between the Ideal and the Practical, of observing the limits of contemporary contingencies, and he thus fell into the same errors. Weary of the constraints of conventual life, and convinced in his own mind that he was in no wise bound by human ordinances, and the obligations grounded upon them, he abandoned his convent, in order to publish the pure doctrines of the Gospel among the people, who were totally deficient in clear religious knowledge,—to rebuke their vices from the Bible, and to exhort men to contrition and repentance. He himself always appeared in the garb of a penitent, meanly clad, and wearing a flowing beard: he went barefoot even in winter, carrying a staff before him, to which a cross was fastened, as a token that his object was to exhort men to follow the cross of Christ. On his arrival in any town, he took up his lodgings indifferently with any of the townspeople, and was satisfied with the meanest fare. He possessed all those qualities calculated to make a powerful impression on the people: his person was dignified and commanding, his voice loud and sonorous, and the effect of his discourses was heightened by the eloquent expres-

sion of a keen and flashing eye. His manner was like his character, impassioned; his words flowed with a natural eloquence, warm from the heart; and he was perfectly familiar with the texts of Scripture with which his representations were enforced. The fame of his sanctity and his learning was soon spread abroad in that country, and young and old, men and women, came in throngs to confess their sins to him, and went away declaring that they had never before seen a man in whom austerity and kindliness were so admirably blended, at whose preaching even a heart of iron might readily be moved to repentance, and whose life might serve as a model to all monks, hermits, and priests.

It was on the Ash-Wednesday of the year 1116, the day of universal penance, that Henri sent two of his disciples, arrayed in the garb of penitents, and bearing the standard of the Cross, to the illustrious city of Mans, to announce his arrival to Bishop Hildebert, and to obtain his permission to preach there. The people, to whom Henri was well known by reputation, and who had for a long time been anxiously desiring an opportunity of seeing and hearing him, received his messengers as angels. At this era it was not unusual for monks to travel from country to country preaching repentance; as, for instance, St. Norbert: Hildebert, therefore, deemed Henri to be one of these, for he was not yet regarded as a heretic. His discourses had been directed rather towards practical Christianity than to dogmatical subjects: he had attacked not the doctrines, but the vices of the Church. Hildebert was one of those better bishops who had the interests of religion at heart, and it was thus a personal gratification to him to welcome a man, who, possessing such power of influencing the mind, made use of it to incline the heart to good. The bishop

was also wise enough to perceive, that by refusing him admittance, he should only exasperate the people, and render himself obnoxious to them: he therefore gave a gracious and hospitable reception to Henri's messengers, and although he was himself on the eve of a journey to Rome, he left orders with his archdeacons, among other charges, to give free admission to Henri in his absence, and to allow him full liberty of preaching. His orders were obeyed, and Henri soon produced the same powerful impression at Mans that he had done elsewhere. Many of the inferior clergy, less influenced [than those in a more elevated position] by self-interest, were attracted by his discourses, and convinced of the truth of his allegations relative to the corruption of the Church: they even prepared a pulpit for him, from whence he addressed the people; they listened with the most eager attention, and were moved to tears by his words. Henri had hitherto acted wisely in bringing forward the truths of the Gospel, and had attacked vice only through the medium of these truths, without personality; but the heat of youth now urged him to a series of passionate sallies against the clergy; and these, as is always the case, found the readiest reception from the people. The clergy became hateful and despicable in their eyes; they refused to have any sort of intercourse with them; and it was only the protection of the nobles that sheltered the priesthood from their threatened vengeance. On one occasion, when some of the clergy came to remonstrate with Henri, they were so roughly handled by the people, as to be too happy only to escape in safety. Not daring openly to proclaim the sentence of excommunication which had been pronounced against him, they sent it in writing by one of their members: it was as follows:—

"You were received by our Church with all brotherly

love, in the hope that you would instruct the people in the way of salvation, and sow the good seed in their souls; but you have repaid love with hatred, blessing with cursing, and have sought to disturb the peace of the Church. You have sowed strife between the clergy and the people,—have armed the unruly multitude with swords and with staves against us. You have given us the Judas-kiss, and openly spoken of us as heretics; and what is still more grievous, you have on many points assailed the true Catholic faith. For this cause we do here, in the name of the sacred Trinity, of the Holy Catholic Church of Saint Peter, the first of the apostles, and of his successor Pope Paschal, as also in the name of our Bishop Hildebert, forbid you, and all connected with you, to preach and spread your corrupt doctrine openly, or in private, in this diocese of Mans. And if you shall presume to defy this exalted authority, and to continue to scatter poison from your blasphemous mouth, we do, in virtue of the same authority, excommunicate you and all your associates; and at the dreadful day of judgment may you be overtaken by the eternal curse of Him whose Godhead you have incessantly attacked."

Henri, who did not recognize the authority of the spiritual tribunal, refused to receive the document, and the messenger was obliged to read it aloud, and he was foolish enough to irritate the passions of the excited multitude by heaping abuse upon their revered preacher. Henri contented himself with simply shaking his head, and exclaiming, "You lie," at every pause in the reading. He might, indeed, have felt conscious that he had neither taken part in the uproar, nor had any intention of exciting it, although it was a result of his preaching, which a wiser mode of proceeding might have prevented.

But who can say (if indeed the clergy had not themselves assisted to stir up the tumult) what Henri might have had to allege in his own justification?—for the history of these events has been transmitted to us by an opponent of Henri. That Henri, who believed it to be his duty far rather to obey the voice of God, by which he felt himself called, than the commandments of man, should utterly have disregarded this intimation, was but natural, and he went on labouring as before. His influence and authority continued to increase in the city; his word became law: gold and silver he might have had at his pleasure. Had Henri been nothing more than a covetous and ambitious demagogue, he might easily have availed himself of his influence to enrich himself, and to usurp the government of the city, by arming the people against the nobility and priesthood; but he made use of his power only to realize his own ideas, and accepted only so much of the offered gold as he required for the execution of his plans. His first object was the establishment of Christian brotherly love and fellowship, in opposition to the prevalent corruption of morals and self-seeking worldliness. Women who had lived unchastely were to cut off their hair, and burn it, together with their garments, in public, in order to deter others from similar courses by this disgrace. Regarding celibacy, and the difficulties thrown in the way of marriage by the canonical impediments, as the most obvious sources of the prevailing dissoluteness of manners, he looked to early marriages as a means of improving the moral condition; and therefore he himself solemnized several marriages between the young men and maidens of the city, without respect to the canonical hindrances (17), which, according to his opinion, were grounded on human tradition only. He believed mar-

riage to be of perpetual obligation, and separations between those whom God had joined together inadmissible on any grounds. The woman took an oath before Henri that she would preserve inviolable fidelity to her husband for life, and that she would renounce all pomp of dress—in this age the source of the most lavish expenditure. No considerations of property were in future to influence the matrimonial connection; neither gold nor silver—neither dower nor possessions, ought to be the objects sought in each other by those whom God had brought together in a holy union. The distinctions occasioned by worldly possessions should be removed by Christian love; he therefore, in opposition to the existing custom, celebrated marriages between the free and those who had served as bondmen—clothing the latter out of the fund he had formed with the money which had been given him.

This was all beautiful and sublime, as flowing from a heart that had its home in a better world. It would have been well if such a community as Henri represented to himself could have existed in a world so beset with corruption and variety of hindrances; or if he could have looked into the hearts of those whom he thus united! The news of Hildebert's return from Rome induced Henri to withdraw to some of the neighbouring castles, from whence he continued his labours. The bishop made his entrance into the city, followed by a brilliant retinue; but he found that a great change had taken place, and when he would have given his blessing to the people, they contemptuously rejected it, exclaiming at the same time, "We desire neither your learning nor your blessing. Let it fall upon the ground; for we have a father and a priest who surpasses you in dignity, in sanctity of life, and in learning—him your clergy

despise as a blasphemer. We feel that he lays bare their vices with a prophetic spirit, and rebukes their errors and excesses from the Holy Scriptures; but vengeance will swiftly overtake them for having presumed to forbid the holy man to publish the word of God."

The bishop acted on this emergency with the wisdom and moderation becoming his spiritual character: he was sufficiently acquainted with the disposition of the people to know that violence and persecution always tend to exalt the enthusiasm of the persecuted party, and that, on the other hand, popular enthusiasm, when unopposed, soon fades away; he sought, therefore, to restore peace by gentle measures, and left all injuries unpunished. He visited Henri in person, in order to judge for himself of his character, and to make proof of his boasted theological learning; but Henri had troubled himself little about that which Hildebert sought for in a theologian. He declared him to be an unlearned monk, quite unacquainted with spiritual things, and took no other measures against him than that of requiring him to leave the diocese of Mans. It was a task of much difficulty to restore peace between the clergy and the highly-exasperated people; but Hildebert's prudence and gentleness contributed greatly towards effecting it. A demagogue, who had been indebted for his reputation solely to those arts by which the hearts of the people are to be won, must have been quickly forgotten. The foundation of Henri's influence lay deeper (18). After the lapse of years, and the dissemination of the most scandalous reports concerning the life of the heretic, his memory was still affectionately cherished in the minds of the people.

Henri now turned to the south of France, and at Poitou, Bourdeaux, and other cities, he produced a power-

ful impression. Coming farther south, he fell in with Pierre de Bruys, the man who was actuated by a like spirit; they united, and laboured in common. After the death of Pierre de Bruys, Henri became the leader of the sect, and made journeys throughout Provence, Languedoc, and Gascony. The bishops who presided over these provinces, and had been so earnestly exhorted by Peter of Clugni to suppress the prevailing heresies, now strove, by every means in their power, to possess themselves of the person of the leader; and at length, in the year 1134, the bishop of Arles succeeded in securing Henri, whom he took with him to the council then held at Pisa. Here he was compelled to retract all the errors of which he was accused.

We must have a more accurate knowledge of the circumstances of the case before we can venture to determine whether Henri really betrayed his convictions, for we learn from ecclesiastical history how little to be trusted are the statements of adverse partizans[9]. He was there given over to the custody of the abbot of Clairvaux, but we soon find him again at liberty, probably owing to the negligence of Bernard, whose attention was at that time absorbed by greater matters, the restoration of peace to the Italian Church.

It was in the mountainous country about Toulouse and Albi, that Henri now made his appearance. The

[9] A remarkable instance of this is given by Ranke, in his History of the Popes, Mrs. Austin's translation. Contarini, in his Tractatus de Justificatione, Paris 1571, asserts the grand doctrine of justification by faith alone; but in the edition published under the inspection of the general inquisition at Venice, 1589, the offending passages are not only omitted, but have been so altered as to take the colour of the received dogmas. "It is truly astonishing," says Professor Ranke, "to peruse the collation."

nature of the country rendered it a safe asylum to the sectaries; and the great feudatories who were seated there, instigated either by the preaching of Henri, or by their own hatred towards the ambitious clergy, found many adherents both among the inferior burghers, and among the handicraftsmen, especially the weavers. His opponent Bernard has left the following picture of his influence:—

"The churches are without congregations, the congregations without a priest; the priests are no longer treated with the reverence due to them; the churches are avoided as though they were synagogues; the sanctuary of the Lord is no longer held sacred; the sacraments are no longer reverenced; the festivals no longer observed. Men die in their sins, and souls are hurried before the awful judgment-seat of God, without having been reconciled to Him by penance, or strengthened by the supper of the Lord. The way to Christ is closed against the children of Christians, the grace of baptism is denied, and those whom the Saviour called to Him with fatherly love, 'Suffer the little children to come unto Me,' are no longer permitted to draw nigh unto heaven."

Alarmed at the growing influence of Henri, whose doctrines were spreading more and more widely in the south of France, and who was now openly protected by several of the principal nobles, in particular by the count of Toulouse, Pope Eugenius, who was at this time residing in France, perceiving the necessity for stronger measures, dispatched the cardinal bishop Allerich of Ostia, accompanied by other bishops, into the south, with instructions to suppress the sect. The legate, knowing Bernard's power over the minds of men, persuaded him to join the expedition, and to him the cardinal was in-

debted for the final success of his efforts. When the papal legate made his entrance into the city of Albi, he found but a sorry reception; the townspeople coming out to meet him on asses, with kettle-drums before them: but when Bernard made his appearance two days later, his personal dignity, the meanness of his apparel, and his haggard countenance, made a very different impression: none presumed to treat him with derision, and he was received with universal reverence and rejoicing.

A short time before his arrival in Toulouse, one of the richest and most distinguished of the citizens had been led by his zeal for Henri's doctrines to abandon his goods and worldly possessions, and to retire with his wife to a neighbouring castle, a rendezvous of the sectaries, where he had hitherto resisted all the persuasions of their kindred to induce them to return; but Bernard's arrival and preaching wrought a powerful effect in this city also, the fame of his miracles was soon noised abroad, and Henri and his adherents were forced to make their escape.

Bernard well knew the best means of counteracting the factious arts used by many of the sectaries. On one occasion, when he had been preaching with great effect[1] before a considerable number of people, and on the conclusion of his sermon was about to mount his horse, one

[1] So great was the effect of Bernard's simple eloquence, that after preaching to the people of Toulouse, (who had, during the discourse, manifested their deep interest and emotion by their tears and sobs) when, at the conclusion, he invited them to consider their ways and return to the unity of the Church, and in order to distinguish the penitents, he desired that those who had received the "word of salvation, should hold up their right hands, in token of their adherence to the Catholic Church;" the whole congregation did so with eager alacrity.

of the sectaries came forward, and called aloud to him, "Know, my lord abbot, that the horse of our master, against whom you have been speaking so freely, is by no means so fat and well-conditioned as yours." Bernard, without manifesting the least disturbance, replied with a good-humoured glance at the man, "I do not deny it, my friend; but I would thou shouldst remember that this is a *boast* for the which thou dost reprove me. Now, to be fat and well-conditioned is suitable to the nature and appointment of beasts; and God, who will not judge us for such matters, is not thereby offended; but every man shall answer for *himself*." And so saying, he threw back his cowl, and discovered his wasted throat, and thin and withered countenance; and this was to the people the most conclusive refutation of the sectarian. It was in the castles of the nobles that the Henricians now found their chief security, for Bernard had persuaded most of the people to unite in a league against the heretics, by which they bound themselves to exclude them from the rights of burghership, and to renounce all commerce with them.

The confidence which Bernard expresses (in the letter addressed by him to the citizens of Toulouse, after his return to exhort them to stedfastness in the Catholic faith), that God would even work miracles through him for the establishment of the Church, must have made a deep impression upon those who had seen and heard him. "The truth," he writes[2], "has been manifested to you through us, not only in word, but also in the power of God." He urged them to pursue the heretics till they had utterly driven them out of their borders, "for the sheep are not safe while there are serpents in

[2] Ep. 242.

their neighbourhood." He also gave them some pious admonitions. "Practise manifold hospitality, for by so doing many have pleased God. Abraham was esteemed worthy, on account of his holy zeal, in receiving the strange angels as guests; and ye, in the stranger, receive, not angels, but the Lord of angels. You feed Him in the needy,—you clothe Him in the naked,—you minister to Him in the sick,—you comfort Him in the captives." He added a warning, absolutely necessary as a check to the farther extension of the sects. "Receive not any strange or unknown preacher, unless he be sent by the pope or by your bishop; for there be preachers, who, assuming the appearance of piety, and renouncing its ways, introduce profane novelties in word and thought, mingling poison with honey."

It was thus, indeed, that the rapid extension of these sects had been effected; their preachers had won upon the affections of their hearers by the practical tendency of their discourses before their heterodoxy was remarked.

Henri himself was captured shortly after these transactions, through the exertions of the bishops, and led in chains before Pope Eugenius, at the council of Rheims; but, at the intercession of the archbishop of Rheims, his sentence was mitigated to perpetual imprisonment in some convent, where he soon after died. At this council, however, the pope laid his interdict on the dominions of all defenders of the heretics; but that which had its source in the inward necessities of man, was not to be checked by any outward force, though Pierre and Henri were removed from the scene; that which they had called forth in the hearts of men continued to propagate itself, and those provinces of France in which they had laboured became the rallying point of all the sects arrayed against the Church. To those who, raised above

the torrent influence of the stream of time, and freed from the trammels of party, calmly contemplate the good and the evil as they reveal themselves, the question must occur—Wherefore such men as Bernard, Abelard, and the founders of the sects, who were unanimous in their desire of furthering the cause of religion and virtue, must needs have been naturally opposed to each other? How different might have been the effect on the age, if they who were agreed in the earnest sincerity with which they rebuked vice, promoted morality, and regarded salvation as the only legitimate object of man, had laboured in common,—if the speculative mind of Abelard, the contemplative spirit of Bernard (ever clinging to the positive), and the heart-stirring mysticism of the sects, had wrought in unison, instead of opposition to each other. Since, however, in the individual, as well as in the world at large, all good is associated with its peculiar evil, this ever-recurring strife is necessary to prevent the total preponderance of the individual and evil, and the corruption of the spiritual life; and thus the evil ever calls forth the good[3].

[3] It was about this time, after Bernard's return from Languedoc, that Guinard, King of Sardinia, was led by the fame of its abbot to visit Clairvaux, on his return from a pilgrimage to the tomb of St. Martin at Tours. Bernard received him with the honours due to his rank; but as he never neglected any opportunity of speaking of the way of salvation, he discoursed to the sovereign concerning the state of his soul, exhorting him to prepare himself for appearing with confidence before the tribunal of God. His discourse did not appear to make any great impression at the time, but some years after, Guinard resigned his crown to his son, and retired to Clairvaux, where he died at an advanced age, 1190. Prince Henry, son of Louis-le-Gros, had embraced the monastic life under the auspices of Bernard some years previously. In order to test his sincerity, the abbot subjected him to the severest trials; employ-

In the year 1148, Pope Eugenius having effected so much in France, and thereby exalted and established his authority, determined to set out on his return to Rome; but before his departure, he paid a visit to his former master, at his abbey of Clairvaux, accompanied by his suite, and appeared as a monk among monks: indeed, as pope, he did all that lay in his power to encourage the monastic life, and always wore the monkish habit under the splendid robes of the papacy.

After the pope had left Clairvaux, Bernard had the satisfaction of welcoming archbishop Malachi, a man whom he greatly venerated, and who had promoted the extension of his order in uncivilized Ireland. The archbishop was then on his way to Rome, but dying at Clairvaux, Bernard had the opportunity of securing for his convent an advantage then highly prized, and which contributed greatly to enhance the dignity of a religious establishment—the burial of the holy man within its precincts. By Bernard, Malachi was esteemed as the second founder of the Irish Church. Through the lapse of time, and the isolated situation of the country, the ecclesiastical institutions had been in a great measure dissolved, and Malachi had imparted to them a fresh stability by connecting the Irish Church still more closely with the great body of the Roman hierarchy. Bernard, therefore, believed that he was doing good service to the Church, by setting forth the life of a man whose efforts in the cause of religion had been so indefatigable, so efficacious, and so disinterested, as a reproachful example

ing him in hard labour, and in the meanest offices, even those of the kitchen; but the prince persevered in his intention. It was with the greatest reluctance, that many years later he accepted a bishopric; he subsequently, as metropolitan of Rheims, rendered the most important services to the Church.

to the worldly-minded bishops of his time. In this biography he has given us an instructive picture of the state of the Irish Church and nation at that time, and of Malachi's influence upon both.

But a trial awaited Bernard in the ensuing year, which he felt but the more deeply after the happiness of this. This was the unfortunate termination of the crusade undertaken by Bernard's advice,—a melancholy result, which had spread dismay amongst the nations of the West. The confidence with which he had predicted a favourable issue, the report of his miraculous gifts, had induced many of the princes and nobles to take part in the expedition. Now that the consequences had proved so fatal and destructive to the lives of thousands, he was bitterly reproached by many as a false and incautious prophet[4]. He cleared himself from those ignominious

[4] Bernard used to call this epoch of his life "the season of misfortunes." It was at this time that he experienced an instance of treachery in one of his own monks, which seems to have afflicted him even more deeply than the public disgrace which the unfortunate result of the crusades had brought upon him. After Bernard's return from Italy, he had taken for his secretary a young man named Nicholas, who had been admitted in his absence, and who appears to have recommended himself to the unsuspicious abbot by his talents, his ready and brilliant eloquence, and his mild and insinuating address. For a lengthened period he carried on his nefarious system of deception and intrigue undetected, but in the year 1151 he was, in the presence of Peter the Venerable, convicted by Bernard of having taken an impression of the seal committed to his charge, for the purpose of writing letters in his name; and also of having recommended to the court of Rome, under this apparent sanction, men of loose conduct and morals to fill sacred offices; and, in a word, of having violated the most sacred laws of both God and man by this shameless breach of confidence. Confounded at the discovery of his baseness, and unable to support the presence of these upright

reproofs by attributing the failure of the enterprize (which was to be undertaken entirely as a work of God) to the vices and mismanagement of the princes and knights, who in their lives had proved themselves unworthy of

men, Nicholas fled from the convent, and took refuge in England, from whence he did all that disappointed ambition and malice could suggest to injure the reputation of his benefactor by the most calumnious inventions. These slanders could not shake the peace of mind that was grounded on the testimony of a good conscience, but Bernard was greatly puzzled to find means of redressing the abuses which had been perpetrated under the authority of his name. Innumerable were the letters which came pouring in from all parts of Europe,—from prelates, abbots, and religious establishments,—complaining of unfair treatment from the abbot of Clairvaux. At a loss to rectify these disorders, Bernard wrote to the pope:—"The monk Nicholas is gone out from us, for he was not of us; he has left behind him the terrible results of the depravity of his heart. Besides the books, and the specie which he was taking with him in gold and silver, three seals were found upon him—(it would seem from this that he was taken in the act of escaping)—his own, that of our prior, and mine. This was not the ancient seal, but a new one that I had caused to be made, to guard against fraud and errors. But now, what means have I of ascertaining the infinite number of persons to whom he has written in my name, without my knowledge? Would indeed that I could efface all trace of the impositions which he has practised on the court of Rome! Would that I could justify fully all those who have been calumniated by him. I dare not pollute my paper or your ears by the recital of all the crimes he has committed." Ep. 298. In a subsequent epistle, Bernard writes thus to Eugenius:—"In order to prevent all danger of future mistakes, I have again changed my seal, and on the present substitute I have, as you will see, caused my name and a representation of my person to be engraven." Ep. 274. See Memoir at the end of this volume.

(It was usual for the abbot to have a private seal besides that of the abbey over which he presided. The graving of these seals was very expensive; that of Hyde Abbey cost fifteen marks. (About 10*l.*)

being used as instruments in God's service[5]: "How painfully are those now confounded," he writes to Pope

[5] One of the divisions of the crusading army, that composed of the English and the maritime people of the north of Europe, being driven into the mouth of the Tagus by stress of weather, and hearing that Lisbon was besieged by the Moors, flew to the succour of their Spanish brethren, relieved the city, defeated the besiegers, and having assisted in retaking many other strong places from the Saracens, re-established Alfonso Henriquez, count of Portugal, in the possession of that country. Alfonso, who was the son of the duke of Burgundy, and the grandson of Robert, king of France, had received Portugal as the marriage portion of his wife, the daughter of Alfonso the Sixth of Castile. After the defeat of the Moors at Lisbon, he was saluted by his soldiers with the title of king, which he ever afterwards assumed. The famous monastery of Alcobaça, the most important filiation of Clairvaux was erected and endowed by the king in consequence of this victory, for which he believed himself indebted to the prayers of Bernard. The act of endowment bears date April 28, 1142. The original of this was extant in Clairvaux up to the year 1728, and a duplicate was preserved at Alcobaça. By this Alfonso made his kingdom a feudatory of the abbey of Clairvaux, enjoining his successors to pay to the superior of that monastery an annual tribute of fifty golden maravedis, to be offered at the chapel royal, on the feast of the Annunciation. The treasurer of the chapel was to receive this tribute, and by him it was to be transmitted to the abbot of Alcobaça for the abbot of Clairvaux. It was regularly paid till the extinction of the Burgundian line, in the person of Cardinal Henry, in 1580. The monks of Clairvaux, on this event, asserted a claim to the throne of Portugal, and in the contentions attending a disputed succession, the annual tribute was omitted; but in the year 1646, John of Braganza, being then established on the throne, wrote a letter to Don Claude l'Argentrier, then abbot of Clairvaux, to inform him that it should again be paid as usual. In this letter the king requests a copy of the ancient portrait of Bernard, preserved in the monastery. Up to the year 1738, when le Père Merlin was at Clairvaux, the fifty golden maravedis had been regularly received. The abbot of Alcobaça was, in virtue of his office, grand-almoner to the sove-

Eugenius, "who announced peace, and promised good! We 'promised peace, and there is no peace!' We promised good, and for good there is destruction." As though he had acted lightly or imprudently in the matter. "Nay, not as uncertainly did I enter on the course, but at your command, or rather at the command of God through you. Let us call to mind God's dealings of old time, if perchance we may find consolation therein. I speak of things that none are ignorant of, and which yet no one will choose to know; for thus it is with the heart of man, that what he knoweth when he hath no need of it, he forgetteth when it might be useful to him. Moses, when he brought his people out of Egypt, promised them a better land, for otherwise that earthly-minded people would not have followed him. He brought them out there, but to the *promised* land he brought them not; and yet the last and unlooked-for result is in no wise to be ascribed to the rashness of the leader, who acted by God's command, and through God's assistance, who confirmed the work by miracle. But thou wilt say it was a stiff-necked people, rebelling against the Lord and his servant Moses. Yea, verily, they *were* unbelieving and rebellious, — and what were *these* men? Ask themselves.

"And why, then, should we wonder if those who act in the same manner, meet with the same result? And if the misfortunes which befel the former were not contrary to the promise of God, neither were the misfortunes of the latter, for God's promises can never be in

reigns of Portugal. The treasures and benefactions heaped on this establishment were so prodigious, that the abbots were lords paramount over thirty towns, among which were four sea-ports. —See Histoire des Ordres Monastiques, Histoire de Citeaux, &c. &c.

opposition to His justice. What might these men say of me, if they were again to go forth at my bidding, and again to be overcome? And what if I were to bid them a third time, and the third time they were to dare the undertaking, after they had once and again been deceived? Yet thus did the Iraelites, not heeding a two-fold disappointment, and the third time were victorious[6]. But these men will perhaps say, How, then, shall we be certified that the word was of God? What sign dost thou give us, that we may believe thee? To this I need not reply, lest men should impeach my modesty. Ye may answer for me and for yourselves, after that which you have seen and heard."

The concluding years of Bernard's life were devoted, though with frequent interruptions, to the completion of his most important work, "The Book of Consideration," addressed to the pope. Now that his much-loved Eugenius was no longer near him, he sought to place before him an animated picture of his lofty vocation as the follower of St. Peter; to remind him how much that was extraneous had in the lapse of time mingled itself with the papacy, and to exhort him to remove all this, and to exercise its purely spiritual influence alone. Finally, in order to withdraw his mind from all earthly things, he endeavoured to trace out the means by which the human soul may attain the greatest elevation of which it is capable. Such was the origin of this remarkable work, which exhibits Bernard's views of the hierarchy and of its relations to the pope, as well as his ideas concerning Divine contemplation. In an age when might passed for right, not only, as at other periods, in the general relations of society, but also in private and

[6] Judges xx. 18—43.

individual cases, and where lawless will set all laws at defiance, the idea of a supreme *moral*, earthly judge (20), upholding law and right against tyrannical violence, cherishing the victims of oppression and injustice, and at the same time, punishing the guilty, must have been replete with attraction and comfort to the nations; and when the popes were really found to act in this spirit, as many of them certainly did, at least in individual cases, the people were the more easily disposed to think of them as God's vicegerents on the earth. But they, to whom so great a trust had been committed, were but men, exposed, like all other men, to the workings of internal evil, and, from the height of their elevation, exposed more than other men. The Spiritual and Temporal were easily confounded in operation, and in their struggles with the civil power, the rulers of the Church might readily be seduced into seizing a jurisdiction foreign to their office. To this, another circumstance contributed greatly. In order to secure the free and practical exercise of their judicial power, their seat was fixed where they might not be subjected to the immediate influence of any particular sovereign, lest their dependence on any individual prince should expose them to be guided by his influence, and should interfere with their administration of impartial justice towards all nations. (Thus in many cases, we see individual bishops led by the will of their sovereign, unless they were supported by the popes.) When, therefore, the pope became a sovereign prince, his spiritual character was still more liable to be obscured by the temporal; and he was still more open to the temptation of using his spiritual influence only for the purpose of promoting his worldly interests. In order to secure the exercise of their power, and to keep up a system of superintendence

over all particular Churches, it was necessary that the popes should have prelates to assist them, and every addition to the number of these prelates facilitated the entrance of corruption, and exposed the popes still further to the influence of private passion.

Bernard, who pictured to himself a supreme ruler of the Church, faithful to his spiritual calling, and as the universal judge and overseer of the religious and moral condition of the nations, announcing the Divine law, without respect of persons, felt also the difficulties that opposed the realization of this sublime idea at a time when the Romish *Church*, and the Romish *court*, had become mixed up one with the other. "Where shall I begin," says Bernard, in the opening of his exhortations to the pope; "I will begin with your worldly business, because it is with regard to this, that I participate the most deeply in your grief, if indeed *it be a grief* to you, and if not, then is my sorrow only the greater, since *his* disease is ever the most perilous, who feeleth not his sickness. But far be it from me to suspect this of you; for I know the holy calm that you were wont to enjoy, and you cannot but be sensible of the loss when it has been so suddenly ravished from you; yea, your sorrow must daily be renewed, now that you are daily torn from your most sweet contemplations. Yet trust not too far to this present sensation, for nothing is so firmly fixed in the soul, but that through neglect and the lapse of time its virtue may be lost. We are incapable of a continued and passionate sorrow, the burden appears at first intolerable; time and habit familiarize us with it, so that we begin to think it less oppressive; we soon become insensible to its weight, and in the end we even find it agreeable. And thus a violent and present sorrow speedily ends, either in *recovery or in insensibility*."

The deep truthfulness of this picture will be confirmed by the experience of every human heart. The pain of the sorrowful longing after our better country, the sick feeling arising from the contrast between ourselves and the indwelling Ideal of our better nature, are the sensations most salutary for us, and lead us on progressively to restoration, because they oppose the renunciation of our better nature, and prevent us from identifying ourselves with the world within and around us, impelling us to seek with restless striving after that which is fitted to the real character of our being; but it is easy to trust too far to these sensations, which become blunted by continued contact with the extraneous, and by the tendency to self-indulgence; so that at last we receive pleasure from that, at which our nature had formerly revolted..

Bernard then proceeds to set before the pope the burden of heterogeneous business, with which he was oppressed; and first the vast number of suits concerning temporal matters, brought for his decision. "Tell me, I pray you, why is it that from morning to evening you must needs be occupied with suits and suitors? They scarce leave you so much time as may suffice for the needful repose of the body, ere you are roused to attend again their pleadings. Awake then, and blush for the slavish yoke, under which you have groaned long enough. Perchance, you do not consider yourself a slave, because you serve not one in particular, but all. Nay, but there is no bondage more disgraceful and oppressive than that of the Jews, which they carry about with them to every place, finding masters wherever they go; and now, only shew me the place wherein you are at liberty, wherein you are free from interruption, wherein you are your own master. You are surrounded on all sides by noise and clamour, weighed down at all times with the

yoke of your slavery;" and he adds, "answer me not with the words of the Apostle[7], 'Though I be free from all men, yet have I made myself servant unto all.' Did Paul make himself the servant of men for the purpose of ministering to their covetousness? Or did the ambitious, the covetous, the sacrilegious, the unclean, and such like monsters of men, come flocking to Paul from the ends of the earth, to solicit or to retain ecclesiastical preferments through his Apostolical authority? Nay, those men, to whom 'to live, was Christ, and to die, was gain,' made themselves servants unto men, that they might win *men* to Christ, and not that they might increase the gains of covetousness. Presume not then to allege the wise diligence, and the free and bountiful love of the Apostle Paul, as a ground of justification for your slavish life. How much more suitable would it be to your Apostolic character, how much safer for your conscience, how much more profitable for the Church of God, if you would rather listen to Him when He says, 'Ye are bought with a price, be not ye, therefore, the servants of men[8].' What can be at once more slavish and more unbeseeming a pope, than to be employed, not only every day, but every hour in such matters, and for such men? And when then comes the hour of prayer? When do we provide for the instruction of the people, or the edification of the Church? When do we discourse upon the law? The laws indeed resound daily in your palace, but they are the laws of Justinian, and not the laws of God? And should this be so? It is for you to look to it. Verily, the law of the Lord 'is a law *converting* the soul;' but here be what are not so properly laws, as a crop of disputations and cavillings, *subverting*

[7] 1 Cor. ix. 19. [8] 1 Cor. vii. 23.

the right. Tell me then, how can you, a 'shepherd and bishop of souls,' allow *that* law to be silent, while *those* laws are always to be heard? Paul, when he draws the character of a bishop, saith, that 'he who serveth God may not entangle himself with the affairs of this life [9].' But I spare you, and will not require of you the *highest* pitch of virtue, but that which is within your reach; for think you that the men of *this age* would bear with you, if when they come to debate questions touching their earthly inheritance, and to desire your sentence thereon, you were to answer them with that word of our Lord; 'Who hath made me a ruler and a judge over ye?' How quickly would this sentence be passed upon you. 'Hear what the boorish and ignorant man saith, who knoweth neither his own dignity nor the reverence belonging to the Apostolic seat.' And yet I trow there is not one of these men that can show an Apostle, who ever set up for a judge between men, to decide matters appertaining to boundaries, and the division of estates (21). I find, indeed, that the Apostles submitted to be judged, but I find not that they were in any case judges themselves. In the day of retribution they shall indeed sit as judges, but not in this world. It seemeth to me, that he who fears, lest his refusal to judge such matters should prejudice the authority of the Apostles and their successors, cannot yet have attained to a right standard of estimating things; since they judge not *such* matters, because to them is committed the judgment of *far higher* matters; your power applies to moral, not earthly possessions. Which power and authority appears to you to be the greater, that of forgiving sins, or that of dividing goods? And since kings and princes

[9] 2 Tim. ii. 4.

are set to judge earthly things, why should you invade their province? Why put your sickle into another man's harvest?"

Yet Bernard, considering the circumstances of the times, does not venture to recommend the pope to withdraw himself altogether from all extraneous business, in order to devote his time entirely to the spiritual repose befitting his spiritual character. "For," writes Bernard, "your predecessors have not done so, and it would be the cause of inconvenience to many, if you were suddenly to deviate from their example; and would besides appear as though you did so to lessen them in the estimation of the world; and men would blame you and would cast that proverb in your teeth, 'He who doth what no man doth, becometh a wonder to all men,' as though you sought to excite astonishment. Neither is it possible that you should at once and altogether reform the evil, but this you must seek to do, timely and by degrees, according to the wisdom given you of God; and in the meanwhile strive, as far as in you lieth, to turn this evil into good. If, however, you seek for an example among the good, not among the later popes, you will not fail to find some who have enjoyed a true spiritual rest, amid the greatest press of business; but *times* and *manners* are changed; and treachery, rancour, and violence have obtained dominion upon earth. Many seek to overcome right by litigation, and there are but few to stand up in its defence; and every where the great oppress the poor—and assuredly we may not refuse our aid to the oppressed, nor our judicial sentence to those who suffer wrong. And who can give sentence between parties without having heard the suit? So then causes must still be brought before you, but they must be managed after another manner, for the way in which they are

now conducted is monstrous; and alike inconsistent both with ecclesiastical and burgher law; and I am amazed that your pious ear can bear to listen to the advocates, who strive, and cavil, and serve rather to overpower the truth, than to make it known. Reform, then, these evil customs, stop the mouths of these deceivers, for they are men eloquent against the right, and skilful in defending a lie; but nothing setteth forth the truth so plainly and so readily, as a short and *simple* narration. I would, too, that you would accustom yourself to decide those causes, which must needs be brought before you, (and this is not the case of *all*) at once, though not indeed without sufficient evidence; and that you thus cut off those treacherous delays, so much desired by the intriguing. Let the cause of the widow, and the cause of the poor and needy, who have nought to give, be heard by you; many other matters you may refer to other courts, and many you may reject altogether, for some men are so utterly shameless, that though their whole suit bear witness openly to their intrigues, they will yet not scruple to expose themselves before the world, in order to gain audience; whose own judgment might suffice to shame them. The Church is still more oppressed with the intrigues of the ambitious, who are not a whit less abandoned in their machinations. If you be Christ's disciple, let your zeal burn like His; Christ was so far from being ready to hear suits, that He took a scourge, to lash those who had converted the house of prayer into a house of merchandize. Even so must you deal with those who would make merchandize of holy things, and if they be lost to the sense of shame, you also must arouse them by the terror of the rod."

Bernard then proceeds to contrast the spiritual vocation and character of the popes, with the worldly rank which

they had acquired. "We cannot deny your having been exalted into a high place, but I believe that it is not in order that you should have sway upon earth, but as it was said to the prophet Jeremiah, when he was exalted in like manner, 'to root out and to pull down, and to build and to plant[10].' Now, which of these expressions implieth any temporal pomp? Nay, the spiritual work is rather represented under the figure of a laborious and menial drudgery. You may learn then, from the example of the prophet, that you have been raised to the highest place, not that you might exercise dominion, but that you might be ready to act as the emergencies of the times require. Gold, silver, and dominion may be attained by other means, but not by virtue of any apostolical right; for the apostle could not bequeath what he did not possess; he transmitted to you what he himself had, the care of the Church [1]." While enjoying the highest ecclesiastical authority, the pope was to remember his mortality. "It will be well for you, when you are reflecting on your dignity as supreme priest, to reflect at the same time, not that you are dust and ashes, but that, when the veil of this fleeting honour, the glitter of this painted pomp, are withdrawn, you are yourself but naked; contemplate yourself then naked, as you came out of your mother's womb." The sad discovery had ere this been made, that the papal monarchy, which had been at

[10] Jer. i. 10.

[1] It may be proper here to state, by way of removing all suspicion of the personal integrity of Eugenius, which Bernard would have been the last to impugn, that he elsewhere bears testimony to the upright and disinterested conduct of this pope, on occasion of two archbishops coming from Germany, and offering him large presents to decide a cause in their favour, when he indignantly rejected the presents, and insisted on their being sent back. Milner, vol. ii.

first regarded as the most effectual means of upholding the order of the Church in all its various parts and relations, and of defending her against the harassing influence of worldly tyranny, now, on the contrary, through the abuses of self-interest, threatened the dissolution of both civil and religious order. If the popes had only understood their true interest, they would have [aimed at] maintaining right and order in the Church, by exerting their power for the restoration of the canon laws, which had fallen into contempt and desuetude through the despotic violence of sovereign princes, and the worldly-mindedness of a corrupt clergy. It was fortunate for that age, that an unlimited power, not easily defined by trivial considerations, was set over the Church, to which the weak, the oppressed, and the victims of injustice might resort for protection; and which administered to those of the clergy who were guilty of dereliction of duty, the appointed punishment. And appeals to the supreme papal tribunal were the more readily admitted, because they were resorted to in cases where their practical advantages, in that rude and imperfect state of society, were evident to the people at large. In many cases, men saw clearly the benefits resulting both to the Church, and to society in general, from the universal superintendance of one man, who acted every where through his legates, who had the power of restoring the bands of discipline, of rebuking the vices of the clergy, and "of helping them to right that suffered wrong." But when the popes had no other object in view, than that of exalting and establishing their own authority, this power became necessarily but the more destructive to the Church, the more frequently it was used for the purpose of strengthening and consolidating the *one tie* which united her to her temporal head; while *all*

the other ties by which the ecclesiastical body was held together, were thereby dissolved. And as the popes, as long as they kept their supreme interests exclusively in sight, and exercised their peculiar rights only in particular instances for the benefit of the nations, had been regarded *by* the nations with still increasing veneration, so when guided by petty and selfish motives, they were seen often to abuse their power to the injury of the people, the appearance of holiness which had surrounded them, gradually vanished, and, according to the common course and order of the moral world, the papacy, by its selfishness, brought about its own downfall. Let us listen again to the man who, while he honestly desired the good of the Church, was familiar with the corruptions of his time, and with the common course of earthly events. He thus writes of the appeals to Rome. "Here the greatest care and watchfulness are requisite, to the end that that which originated in an urgent necessity, may not degenerate into inutility, through the evil use that is made of it. What is more appropriate to your character, than that the invocation of your name should open a refuge to the oppressed, and should cut off all escape from the malicious? And on the other hand, can there be anything more inconsistent with it, than for the *doers* of evil to rejoice, and the *sufferers* of evil to weary themselves in vain? Arouse thee, man of God, for when such things are, it is fitting that both your compassion and your displeasure should be stirred. The immutable law, and therefore the law of appeals also, prescribeth to you this rule of judgment; that an illegal appeal should neither avail the appellants, nor be injurious to the cause of their opponents. One illegal appeal, not discountenanced, is the fruitful seed of many illegal appeals. None but the unjust will dare to appeal before

sentence has been given, unless compelled by manifest grievances; and he who appeals, without having suffered any, plainly shews thereby that it is his purpose either to do an injustice, or to gain time; and then the appeal is not a refuge, but a subterfuge. And through this subterfuge, have not some men obtained impunity to go on in iniquity all the days of their life? How long then will you disregard or be deaf to the murmurs of the whole world? The antidote hath now brought forth a poison; for through these appeals the good are impeded by the bad in the execution of justice; the bishops are prevented from dissolving unlawful marriages, and from removing unworthy members of the ecclesiastical body from their sacred offices; till rapine, plunder, and sacrilege walk the earth unpunished. And now you will ask me, 'why do not those who are injured by these appeals, repair in person to the seat of judgment, and declare their innocence, and unmask the guilty in my presence?' I will tell you what *they* are wont to answer. 'We will not go so far for nought. At the Romish court there are persons who are more inclined to the appellants, and who gladly favour appeals; we would rather therefore give up our cause for lost *at home*, than journey to *Rome* to lose it *there*[2].'"

[2] "It was probably with the intention of furthering the ends of justice, by diminishing the number of appeals to Rome, that Eugenius instituted the degrees of bachelor, licentiate, and doctor. The celebrated Gratian, (a monk of Bologna) had, in the year 1151, published his collection of the canon laws, a work which had been greatly facilitated by the discovery, in the year 1137, of the Pandects of Justinian. Henceforward, all ecclesiastical causes were to be tried by the canon law. These degrees were soon after introduced at Paris by Peter Lombard, and bestowed on students of divinity; Peter being supposed to have performed the same service to divinity, that his contemporary Gratian had done for law; and

Bernard then brings forward several instances of the pernicious influence of these abuses on the different social relations. "A certain betrothal had been openly performed in Paris, and the day fixed for the celebration of the marriage. The day dawns, all is prepared, and the guests are invited; when in comes a man, who, having a fancy for the bride, announces an appeal, under pretence of her having been previously betrothed to him. All is now confusion and dismay; the priest dares not proceed with the ceremony, there is no resource, the bride must separate from her bridegroom, till the answer shall arrive from Rome."

In another case which he cites, the bridegroom was less deferential, and, in spite of an unjust appeal, insisted on the performance of the marriage ceremony. From these abuses the system of appeals necessarily fell into disrepute, and in order to restore their credit, it was imperative on the popes to limit the right of appeal, and to prescribe the grounds on which it was to be permitted. Bernard then passes over to the abuses of the ecclesiastical exemptions, by which the joints of the whole ecclesiastical edifice were riven asunder. "What," he says to Eugenius, "can be more unbecoming than for you, who have the whole, not to be contented with the whole? but to weary yourself in order by some means, I own I know not how, to appropriate some little portion of that whole which hath been committed to you, as though it were not yours already. And you do err if you conceive that the highest office is the *only* one appointed by God. You make a monster of the body if you sever the fingers from the hand and hang them upon the head, and so do you, if you seek to set the members of Christ in a different

henceforth Paris and Bologna, the one for divinity, the other for law, were esteemed the first seminaries in Europe."—Milner.

order from that wherein the Lord hath placed them;" and he proceeds to tell the pope that he was rather, on the contrary, appointed for the purpose of maintaining a due order and subordination in all parts of the Church, and that it was for him to restore much that had fallen into decay. Bernard here takes occasion to remind him particularly of the universal neglect of the ordinances issued against abuses, but a few years since, by Eugenius himself, at the council of Rheims. Bernard saw clearly that the greater part of the evil which threatened the Church, originated, not with the popes, but with their courtiers and parasites. He was well aware, that in order to maintain and develope their principles in a city like Rome, where party spirit and ambition, poverty and covetousness, intrigue and arrogance, reigned supreme; they must be not only *right*-minded, but *strong*-minded men, familiar with the ways of the world; and how difficult must it have been, even to such, to find in the Romish court, men who honestly sought the benefit of the Church alone. "Show me, if you can," says Bernard boldly, "one man, in your great and vast city, who recognizes your authority without being prompted by gain, or by the hope of gain. And when they have vowed to serve you, then it is that they are the most overbearing; they promise you fidelity, in order to betray the confidence you may repose in them. You can form no plan without their knowledge, you can have no privity into which they will not intrude; and if any one of them should be repulsed by your porter, when he seeketh admittance, I would not willingly be in that porter's place. How is it that they who applaud you, are purchased with the spoils of the Churches? You, who are appointed to be a shepherd of souls, go about among them decked with gold, and with a variety of

pompous apparel, and what do your flock receive? Such conduct, I would say, if I dared, is more befitting a shepherd of devils than of sheep. So did not St. Paul exhibit himself. The zeal with which the whole Church is inflamed, burns only for the preservation of your honours and dignities, not of your holiness. If, for any cause, you are induced to humble yourself and demean yourself affably, you are immediately told, 'this is not the custom, it suits not with the times, and is unbeseeming your Majesty;' for all humility is held disgraceful among your courtiers, so that a man had better *be*, than *appear* humble. I know full well that you have your abode among wolves and not among sheep; yet are you their physician, and you will do well to remember this, so that perchance you may find a means of converting them, lest they should draw you away to follow their own perverseness. For indeed you sit in Peter's seat, and yet of him we nowhere read that he went about, adorned with precious stones, and decked with gold and costly silks; nor mounted on a milk-white horse and surrounded by guards; nor attended by swarms of servants; herein then you are a follower, not of the apostle Peter, but of the Emperor Constantine; and I counsel you to submit to this from regard to the customs of the times, but not to seek it, as a thing becoming or due to you; and although you stalk about in purple and gold, yet may you not cast off the pastor's name; for you can no otherwise justify yourself than by acting so as that you may be able to say, 'My people! that which it was my duty to do for you I have done, and have omitted nothing.' Yea, even when you have done all, and can find nought that is worthy of blame, yet is there one thing remaining. Go out of the city of the Chaldeans and say, 'I must also publish the Gospel to other cities;' and I should think that you

would have no cause to repent your exile, when you have gained the whole world in exchange for that city. But what can your good-will *alone* effect? You are looked upon as the originator of all the good and the evil that is done in the Church, since it is done by the intervention of those whom you have selected for the service." Here, however, it occurred to Bernard, that the pope was hampered by the cardinals who had been created before his accession, and he candidly adds; "Yet indeed I cannot say this of all, for there are some whom you did not choose, but by whom you were chosen; yet even these men have no power, except as you are pleased either to leave or to commit it to them, so that all reverts back again to you." He then cites the examples of some legates of the time (22) who had distinguished themselves by their disinterestedness, and adds, "Oh, that there were more such men! Who, then, would be happier than you? What age more glorious than the present? If I know you, you will here be troubled, and say with a heavy sigh, 'Oh, that this time might come to pass in my day, that it were given to me to see the Church established on such pillars! Who could be happier or safer than I, with such men watching at my side, and witnesses of my life?'" Bernard closes his exhortation to the pope, by exhibiting to him in one short sketch, all the features of a true pope: "He is the pattern of piety, the teacher of the people, the defender of the faith, the refuge of the oppressed, the hope of the unhappy, the dread of tyrants, the father of kings, the supporter of the laws, the administrator of the ecclesiastical canons."

From the temporal, Bernard passes on to the spiritual life of the pope, leading back Consideration, as he expresses it, "out of the foreign world to her proper home."

Man alone, being at a distance from the native country of his soul, has need of the consideration of the creature, through which God, at the creation, has revealed the invisible things of His Essence, as a ladder whereby he may raise himself to this [home]. Actual knowledge exists only in direct intuition, where knowledge hath no longer any need of a medium. "The heavenly beings behold the Word of God, and in That the creatures also. They do not require to borrow from the creatures, the knowledge of the Creator; nor in order to make themselves acquainted with the creatures, need they stoop to visit them; for they see them where they exist in a far better manner than in themselves (as Plato says, in the Ideas). They have no need of any extraneous sense, for they are themselves their own sense, and through themselves become conscious of all things. There are three kinds of knowledge; the first active (dispensativa), which uses the senses and the objects of sense in conformity to the will of God; the second, which considers the creatures as steps, whereby the knowledge of God is to be attained; the third and highest, to which all is to be referred, is that abstracted Consideration, which as long as it is supported by the power of God, withdraws itself from mortal things, in order to raise itself to the intuition of the Godhead. He who, as far as it is permitted to mortal weakness, abstracts himself from the use of the senses, not gradually, but by an immediate impulse, and rises at once to the consideration of the Supreme Being, hath attained to the highest [of these]."

He then defines the relation that Intuition, Faith, and Opinion bear to each other; the two former are incapable of error, the intensive certainty in both being the same, and the only difference lying in the clearness of the knowledge. Intuition (Intellectus, *νόησις*) is

the true and at the same time *revealed* knowledge of an Invisible Being. Faith is a spontaneous and certain foretaste of a truth embraced by the will, but not yet fully discovered to the sight (23) (voluntaria quædam et certa prælibatio necdum propalatæ veritatis). Faith is in itself quite as certain as intuition, but yet it hath a veil, from which the latter is released. Opinion alone, which stands midway between truth and falsehood, and is guided by the probable only, is liable to err, by placing herself on a par with intuition: here, above all things, it is needful for us to guard against confusion, that faith may not hold fast the uncertainties of opinion, or opinion exchange the stedfastness of faith for doubt. The most sublime [knowledge] is unutterable, and cannot be communicated in words, for it is only revealed through the Spirit; and we attain unto it, not by argument[3], but by holiness of life. Dost thou ask how? If thou art holy, thou hast embraced it, and knowest it; if not, seek after holiness of life, and thou wilt know it by thine own experience."

This work[4] Bernard completed as the last monument of his life, and it remains as a mirror of humiliation to all subsequent popes. The dissolution of his earthly tabernacle now drew nigh, while yet the spirit within retained its power and serenity. The last thoughts in that work had flowed out of a soul weary of the burden of the flesh, and already catching glimpses of a more kindred world. The disorder which paralyzed his body

[3] This perfectly agrees with what Bernard elsewhere says, "In all things we must place our confidence rather in our prayers, than in our talents or our labours."

[4] Of which Calvin has left this testimony:—"Bernardus abbas in libris de Consideratione ita loquitur, ut veritas ipsa loqui videatur."

at the close of his life, and confined him entirely to his bed, kept him in hourly expectation of death. His ancient friend, Pope Eugenius, could no longer strive to realize the picture he had drawn in his work, for he had gone before him to the grave, in the year 1153. But, in the midst of his intense sufferings, which were only relieved by short intervals of ease, Bernard not only occupied himself in divine meditation, and in edifying his monks and friends by pious exhortations; he still continued to take the most lively interest in the affairs of a world which he was ready to leave, and sought, as long as he was able, to promote order in the Church, and to counteract the machinations of the wicked. He kept up an uninterrupted correspondence with the papal court[5], un-

[5] The letters of Bernard, upwards of five hundred in number, form the first volume of his works. Among them is one addressed to Matilda, the wife of Stephen, King of England. "This princess entertained so great an affection for Bernard, that, on hearing of his approach to the town of Boulogne, where she was then residing, she went out on foot to meet and receive him." Vide Bernardi Opera Omnia, Paris, 1839, nota fusiores.

We cannot forbear giving a translation of a letter to Sophia, a young lady of whose history no particulars are however known; as we think it cannot be otherwise than acceptable to our readers:—

"Thrice happy are you to distinguish yourself from those of your rank, and to rise above them by the desire of the true glory, and by a generous contempt of the false; far more illustrious by this distinction than by the splendour of your birth. If the daughters of the world, who are adorned like halls and palaces, pursue you with their mockeries, say to them, 'My kingdom is not of this world. My time is not yet come, but your time is always ready.' Say to them, 'My glory is hidden with Christ in God; and when Christ, who is my glory, shall appear, then shall I also appear in my glory with Him.' It is true that there is a kind of beauty in paint, and purple, and ornaments; but yet they cannot give beauty; for that beauty which is assumed with the

dertaking the cause of the oppressed, and demanding from the supreme ruler of the Church the punishment of careless and worldly-minded prelates, and the abolition of all ecclesiastical abuses throughout the Church.

That which most distressed him was the unfortunate termination of the crusade, from which he had anticipated such brilliant results; and it was the greatest affliction to him to think that localities consecrated by the Saviour's love had been wrested from the devotions of the faithful, and were now exposed to be violated by the profane and unbelieving. He was also displeased with the nobles for having wasted their strength by mutual quarrels, instead of employing it against the common enemies of Christendom. This is particularly evinced by a letter[6] which he addressed at this period to his kinsman Andrew, one of the Knights Templars at Jerusalem, whom he had anxiously desired to see again before his death. "Oh! woe unto our princes, for they have done no good in the Lord's land; and in their own, where they too quickly returned, they practise inconceivable wickedness. But we still hold fast this con-

dress, and put off with it, is the beauty of the dress, and not that of the person. Leave those, then, who are destitute of the real beauty, to borrow one foreign to them. They do indeed prove their destitution by the pains they take to please fools; but do you, my daughter, despise that beauty which is the result of a few sables, or of the labours of a worm. The genuine beauty of every object is that which is inherent in it, and which is thus independent of all extraneous matters. Diffidence, modesty, silence, humility,—these are the ornaments of the Christian virgin; and, oh! what charms does a chaste diffidence impart to the countenance! charms far more attractive than pearls and jewellery. For you, your treasures are not linked to a perishing and corruptible body; they are those of the soul, and will share its immortality."

[6] Ep. 288.

fidence, that God will not reject His people, nor forsake His inheritance. The right hand of the Lord will yet bring mighty things to pass, so that all may perceive that 'it is better to trust in the Lord than to put any confidence in princes.'" Then, in anticipation of his approaching death, he says, "I have not long to live on earth, and the time of my departure is at hand. I would that I might yet be refreshed by a little more of your sweet presence before I go hence." The state of his feelings at that time is expressed in the following words:—"You are right to compare yourself to an ant, for what are we children of the earth, but ants toiling in the pursuit of vain and unprofitable matters? 'What profit hath a man of all his labour under the sun?' Let us, then, soar above the sun, for there the fruit and reward of our labours await us. Thou dost strive beneath the sun for that which is throned above the sun. Here there is nothing but poverty,—there nothing but riches." He anxiously desired his release from a life which appeared to him only as a living death. At intervals his disorder seemed to abate, although he was still weak. "I have been sick unto death," he writes[7], but now, alas! I am called back to this life of death; yet not for any lengthened period, as far as I can judge, for I am reduced to an almost inconceivable state of weakness. I say this with deference to the good Providence of God, who can even raise the dead." But he was enabled to overcome his bodily weakness, and the might of his spirit restored for a while the failure of his physical energies, when his influence was required for the advantage of his fellow-creatures, and the restoration of peace and order. A war which had broken out between

[7] Ep. 307.

the burghers of Metz and the neighbouring barons had brought desolation and misery into the surrounding country, and threatened still more fatal consequences, unless the wrath of the warlike knights could by any means be appeased. Anxious for the safety and welfare of the flock committed to his spiritual superintendence, Archbishop Hillier of Treves hasted to the couch of the dying Bernard, and implored his mediation between the contending parties. Bernard, at once forgetting his infirmity, roused himself from his sick bed, and hastened to the scene of strife. On the banks of the Moselle the ambassadors of the respective parties met, and he endeavoured to bring about a reconciliation; but the arrogant knights, elated by victory, refused any terms, and, fearful of being overcome by his eloquence, hastily withdrew from the conference, without even offering him the customary greeting. Both parties prepared for battle; but Bernard, even now confident of the result, said to his accompanying monks, "Fear not, the desired peace is at hand, although it be preceded by many difficulties. This hath been revealed to me in a dream this night; for in my sleep it was as though I were saying mass, when suddenly I remembered with shame that I had omitted the angels' song, 'Glory be to God in the highest.' On this I commenced singing it with you all, and sang it to the end."

In the afternoon Bernard did indeed receive a message from the nobles, announcing their change of purpose. In the stillness of the night his words had penetrated their hearts; and Bernard, now turning joyfully to his friends, exclaimed aloud, "Behold, here is the introduction to the song which we shall so soon have to sing, 'Glory be to God in the highest, and on earth peace—towards men.'" The ambassadors of the contending

parties were again summoned, and the negotiations occupied many days; great difficulties arose, but Bernard was unwearied in his efforts to restore peace, and finally attained his object; and saw the respective parties give to each other the right hand of fellowship, and the kiss of peace.

After having thus again become the benefactor of so large a portion of his fellow-men, Bernard returned to Clairvaux. The sickness which he had overcome by the power of his mind now seized him with redoubled violence, and brought him nearer and nearer to the grave. A short time before his death, when his sufferings had ceased to be even temporarily alleviated by sleep, he dictated these words to a friend[8]:—"Pray to

[8] This was Arnold, abbot of Bonneval, who had sent him some fruit and other nourishment suitable to his condition. In the former part of the letter he alludes to this:—"I received your love with affection, I cannot say with pleasure; for what pleasure can there be in circumstances replete with bitterness? To take nothing solid is the only means of preserving myself tolerably easy. My sensitive powers are no longer capable of receiving pleasure. By day and night I take a small portion of liquids. Every thing solid the stomach rejects. The very scanty supply which I do receive is painful. My legs and feet are swollen as in a dropsy. In the midst of these afflictions, that I may hide nothing from an anxious friend, I speak as a fool: the spirit is willing, though the flesh is weak."

In his last moments he exhorted his monks in those words of the Apostle Paul, "We beseech you, brethren, and exhort you by the Lord Jesus, that as ye have received of us how ye ought to walk and to please God, so ye would abound more and more; for this is the will of God, even your sanctification."

Looking round on his weeping brethren, who no longer attempted to restrain the demonstrations of their grief, the compassionate and tender-hearted Bernard exclaimed, again using the words of the apostle, "I am in a strait betwixt two, having a desire to depart, and to be with Christ, which is far better. Never-

the Saviour, Who willeth not the death of a sinner, that He delay not my departure, and yet that He will be pleased to guard it: support him, who hath no merits of his own, by your prayers, that the adversary of our salvation may not find any place open to his attacks."

After forty years of declining health, during the course of which he had led a life of constant activity, and exercised an universal influence over his contemporaries, which, by means of his writings, has been extended through many generations, he died at the age of sixty-three, in the year 1153[9].

Honoured as a saint during his lifetime, it is not surprising that he should have been regarded with still greater veneration after his removal, and while the traces of his beneficent and powerful influence were yet visible, and his remembrance was still fresh in the minds of men; extraordinary virtues were thus attributed to the perishing relics of the body which had been the organ of so mighty a spirit. About ten years after his death, his canonization was proposed, and at the end of twenty years it was effected by Pope Alexander the Third.

It is unnecessary to draw a character of the man,—this

theless, the love of my children urgeth me to remain here below." With these words he expired. Godfrey, in describing his last moments, says, "Tunc vero ipse flens cum flentibus, et columbinos oculos in cœlum porrigens," &c. P. 1179, n.

[9] In person, Bernard, according to the description given by a contemporary chronicler, was rather above the middle height, and exceedingly thin; "His whole body being," to use the words of the monkish historian, "most delicate and without flesh." He was of a clear and sanguine complexion, with a beard slightly inclining to red. His countenance was serene and heavenly, and an expression of "angelical purity and dove-like simplicity" beamed in his eyes, which are scarcely ever spoken of without the addition of the epithet "columbinos."

is sufficiently developed in his life and writings; as far at least as the language and conduct of the inner being can be, in the enigmatic mirrors of external life. But surely that age cannot be altogether deserving of our contempt, in which a man, surrounded by no worldly splendour, obtained so great a degree of influence and authority, solely by his moral power, and by the force and elevation of his mind [1].

Although by his own Church he has been called a saint (but not until after his death), he would have been the last to deem himself such. Saints are only to be found in that place where the power of evil reaches not—where the wine is pure. A saint is scarcely to be met with among those who are born of women, hardly among those who are held in honour in the world, and who exercise a powerful sway over it; for the hardest, as well as the first and greatest of all triumphs, is to renounce the world while we influence it. And, says the spiritual Berengarius with reference to Bernard, "How can wine be mingled with pitch, without losing its flavour thereby?"

[1] The philosophical questions which were debated in the days of Bernard, would alone serve to rescue the twelfth century from the charge of ignorance and barbarism; indeed, the numerous memorials which it has bequeathed to us, attest its intellectual vigour. Vide Ratisbonne, Vie de St. Bernard, Paris, 1840.

We venture to add Luther's estimate of Bernard, which perhaps leaves a more pleasing impression on the mind than Dr. Neander's concluding paragraph :—

"Thus," says the great reformer, "did Bernard, a man so godly, so holy, and so chaste, that he is to be commended and preferred before them all (the fathers). He being grievously sick, and having no hope of life, put not his trust in his single life, wherein he had yet lived most chastely; not in his good works and deeds of charity, whereof he had done many; but removing them far out of his sight, and receiving the benefit of Christ by faith, he said, 'I have lived wickedly; but Thou, Lord Jesus, dost possess the kingdom of Heaven by double right; first, because Thou art the Son of God; secondly, because Thou hast purchased it by Thy death and passion. The first Thou keepest for Thyself as Thy birthright; the second Thou givest to me, not by the right of *my* works, but by the right of grace.'

"He set not against the wrath of God his own monkery, nor his angelical life; but he took of that one thing which was necessary, and so was saved."—Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians.

NOTICE OF THE SEAL OF ST. BERNARD *.

Copy of a letter addressed to the perpetual secretary of the Academy of Inscriptions.

" Rouen, August 16, 1837.

" Sir,—A fortunate circumstance has just placed in my hands the original seal of St. Bernard.

" The academy will no doubt learn with interest that the seal of this celebrated man, who played so conspicuous a part in the political and religious events of his time, still exists; and I may be permitted to transmit some details relating to this little memorial, incontestably the most precious that the twelfth century has bequeathed to us.

" This seal is of brass, and of an oval form; it is 40 millimètres long (17 lines), by 30 at the greatest width (13 lines). It is five millemètres thick; it weighs 30 décagrammes (about one ounce).

" Upon it is represented St. Bernard in a monkish dress, the head shaven and bare, the chin smooth, and seated upon a folding chair, the arms of which terminate in a serpent's head. The saint holds in the right hand, which becomes the left in the impression, a very simple crosier, in the style of the ancient lituus; and in the left hand, which is extended like the right, an object that the coarseness and diminutiveness of the work only permit one to distinguish with difficulty; I imagine it to be a church door, divided into two leaves by a small column, which is surmounted by its capital †.

" The following inscription is traced upon the rim of the seal, round the figure. A little cross, placed above the head of the saint, indicates the top of the seal.

" ' ⋈ Sigillum: Bernardi: Abbatis: Clarævallis.'

" With the exception of the *g* in the word sigillum, of the *d* in

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* See Book iii. This interesting notice, with the exact design of the seal of the abbot of Clairvaux, is extracted from the recent edition of the works of St. Bernard. Opera omnia, edit. quarta, vol. prim. Parisiis, ap. Gaume fratres, 1839.

† Mabillon has taken this object for a book, but I think erroneously: the person from whom I had the seal imagined it to be an hour-glass.—Note of the Director of the Rouen Museum.

Bernardi, and of the *e* in Clarævallis, which are in the Gothic form, the character of the inscription resembles the Roman uncial, and moreover does not deviate in any manner from the characters in use in the twelfth century.

"The absence of the word *sancti* before that of Bernardi would be almost sufficient to prove that this seal is contemporary with the personage whose name it bears, and had belonged to him, since it is known that St. Bernard, who died in 1153, was canonized a few years after his death (in 1174) by Pope Alexander the Third. If this seal, the use of which, in this case, would not be easily explained, had been posterior to the canonization, the sacramental word *sanctus* would not have been omitted, nor would there have been any interested motives, which would have rendered the omission profitable.

"The only objection, perhaps, that an experienced eye could find it possible to raise against the authenticity of this seal is, that the character of the design, the costume, and the accessories, as well as the form of the seal itself, would lead us to refer its execution to the latter end, or, at all events, to the middle of the twelfth century. Now, as St. Bernard assumed the crosier in 1115, why does not his abbot's seal, which must have been executed at that epoch, bear the characters of the time? I could not avoid asking myself this question.

"Upon reading again the letters of St. Bernard, I found the solution of it. St. Bernard, writing to Pope Eugenius the Third, in the year 1151, informs him that he has been obliged to change his seal, owing to an abuse of confidence, and that he had had a second engraved, upon which is traced his figure and his name.

"This second seal is the one that I possess. The figure and the name of St. Bernard are traced upon it.

"The form and the workmanship correspond exactly to the style of the time when St. Bernard informs us that he had it made; and it is thus found to bear all the marks of authenticity that can be desired.

"It remains to me to make known to the academy how I became possessed of this inestimable object of antiquity. I owe it to the generosity of a retired officer, M. Puys d'Isoudun, who sent it to me a few days ago with the following notice:—

"'This seal was purchased at a pawnbroker's, who, in the year 1790, became the possessor of the old brasses of the collegiate of Saint Cyr. d'Isoudun, a member of Clairvaux. How and why this

seal had been deposited in the institution of Saint Cyr. d'Isoudun, I am ignorant.'

" I send with this letter an impression of the seal*, which I shall be obliged to you to submit to the notice of the academy.



" I forgot to tell you that the seal is, on the reverse side, flat and smooth, and without any appearance of a hook or other appendage. It is evident that it was used by pressing it with the finger against the wax.

" DEVILLE, Director of the Museum of Antiquities at Rouen."

* We have substituted for this a print drawing of the original size.

BERNARD'S SERMON ON THE DEATH OF HIS BROTHER GERARD.

TWENTY-SIXTH ON THE CANTICLES.

CANTICLES i. 5.

"As the tents of Kedar—as the curtains of Solomon."

Here we must begin, because here our former discourse ended. You expect to hear what this is, and in what manner it can be adapted to that which was treated of in the preceding chapter—since it is a comparison; for this may be so subjoined, that either part of the comparison may correspond to that alone which had then preceded it. "Nigra sum," "I am black;" and also, so that the two latter should be referred to the two former, i. e. each to each. The former sense is the more simple, the latter the more obscure. But let us try both; and, first, let us try the latter, which appears the more difficult. The difficulty, however, is not in the two first words, but only in the two last; for "Kedar," which is interpreted by "tenebræ," "darkness," seems to agree clearly enough with blackness; but "pelles Salomonis," "the curtains of Solomon," do not seem so clearly to agree with "comeliness." Who does not see, moreover, that "tabernacula," "tents," concur no less in the same agreement? For what are tents but our bodies, in which we sojourn? For neither have we here a continuing city, but we seek one to come: and we also carry on our warfare in them, as in tents.

In short, the life of man upon earth is a warfare; and so long as we war in this body, we go astray from the Lord, i. e. from light; for the Lord is light, and in so far as any one is not with Him, so far is he in darkness—that is, in "Kedar." Let him hear, then, that mournful complaint, Psalm cxx. 5, 6: "Woe is me that I sojourn in Mesech; that I dwell in the tents of Kedar! My soul hath long dwelt with him that hateth peace." Therefore, this dwelling-place of our body is not the mansion of a citizen, nor the house of a native-born; but either the tent of a soldier, or the resting-place of a traveller. This body, I say, is a tent, and a tent of Kedar, because in truth, as it were by the interposition of itself, it now, for a season, prevents the mind from beholding unlimited light; nor suffers it indeed to be-

hold it at all, except "through a glass darkly, but not face to face."

Do you see whence blackness should adhere to the Church, and a certain rustiness * to the most beautiful animals? Doubtless from the tents of Kedar, from the practice of wearisome warfare, from long continuance in a miserable dwelling-place, from the distress of toilsome exile,—in fine, from a weak and languid body; because a body which is liable to corruption oppresses the soul, and the earthly tabernacle presseth down the mind which museth on many things. Wherefore also we desire to be dissolved, that, being lightened of the body, we may fly into the embrace of Christ. Whence too, one of the miserable said mournfully, Rom. vii. 24, "O, wretched man that I am! who shall deliver me from the body of this death?" For a soul of this description knows that in the tents of Kedar she cannot be free from spot nor wrinkle, nor ever so little blackness, and she desires to go forth, that she may divest herself of them; and this is the reason why the spouse calls herself black, "as the tents of Kedar." But I perceive an indescribable sublimity and sanctity enfolded in these curtains, which I would by no means dare to approach unto, except at the bidding of Him who enshrouded and betokened it; for I have read, Prov. xxv. 27, "For men to search their own glory is not glory." I forbear therefore, and desist.

It will be your constant care meanwhile to implore (divine) favour by your prayers, that we may with greater confidence, and therefore with greater zeal, return to that which requires more attentive minds; and perchance the pious inquirer shall discover that which the rash seeker could not find. My grief, however, and my calamity, demand that I conclude.

Why should I dissemble? The fire which I conceal within me consumes my vitals and devours my heart, and only gains ground by my efforts to contain it. What, then, have I to do with songs, when I am in bitterness? Grief deprives me of all liberty of will, and my spirit is dried up by the indignation of the Lord. *He* hath been taken from me, through whom my studies were wont to be perfect freedom, and with him, my heart also hath failed me; but, till now, I have constrained myself. I have dissembled my grief, and I have been enabled to restrain it, lest the sentiments of nature should seem to overpower those of faith. You may have

* Rubigo.—Latin.

remarked that I followed the mournful procession with an unmoved aspect, that while others wept around me, I stood at the grave without shedding one tear. Clad in my priestly robes, I repeated the customary prayers over the deceased, and with my own hands, according to custom, I scattered dust upon the corpse of my beloved, soon itself to be resolved to dust. You marvelled at my firmness; you, who wept still more for me than for the departed. And truly, what heart, were it harder than brass, would not be moved to see me as the survivor of Gerard? A general loss; but to me, especially, an incalculable one. I have dwelt on all the arguments suggested by faith, in order to vanquish my excessive sorrow, and to enable me to strive against the regrets of affection. I have meditated on death as the debt of nature, the penalty of sin, the just judgment of God, the rod of the Terrible, the will of the Lord. But I have not had over my feelings the same command that I exerted over my tears, as it is written, "I was afflicted, and I kept silence;" and they are become but the more bitter, from the restraint to which they have been subjected. And now I avow myself vanquished, and my sufferings must display themselves openly. Let them be manifested in the presence of my children, that they may regard me the more compassionately, and console me the more tenderly.

You, my children, know the reasonableness of my grief, you can appreciate the smart of my wound, for you well knew the faithful companion who has left me to tread alone the path in which we were wont to walk together; his careful diligence, his attention to all our matters, the gentleness of his manners. Who could be so essential to me? Who could ever have loved me as he did? He was a brother by blood, but far more by religion. Weep for me, then, I entreat you; ye, to whom all these things are known. I was infirm of body, and he sustained me; dejected in spirit, and he comforted me; I was slow and negligent, and he excited me; improvident and forgetful, and he reminded me. O my brother, wherefore hast thou been torn from me, wherefore hast thou left my arms, O thou man after my own heart? We were loving in life, and why then should we be separated in death? Grievous separation, and which death alone could have effected! For when in life did you ever desert me? Every act of death is a horrible divorce; for what save death, implacable death, the foe of all happiness, could have severed the links of an affection so sweet, so tender, so lively, and so intimate? O death, by taking

one, thou hast made victims of two. And why wouldest thou not take me? Alas, the life which is left me is heavier than any death. I live, and am all the while dying, and is this to be called life? I am but as the unfruitful wood of the axe. And life without fruit is but a more grievous death, a two-fold evil; and thus, through envy of my usefulness, you have taken from me my friend, through whose diligence chiefly my labours were profitable. Yea, O Gerard! better would it have been for me to have died than to lose thee, who wert my inviter to the study of God's word, my ever-ready helper, my careful overlooker (examinator). We mutually enjoyed our fraternal union, but I alone have lost this happiness, for thou hast found greater consolations. Thou art in the everlasting presence of the Lord Jesus, and hast angels for thy companions; but what have I to fill up the void thou hast left? Fain would I know thy present feelings towards thy brother, thy beloved; if, indeed, it is permitted to one bathing in the floods of Divine Radiance, and transported with the happiness of Eternity, to call to mind *our* misery, to be occupied with *our* grief. For, perhaps, though thou hast hitherto known us according to the flesh; yet now, thou knowest us no longer. He who is joined to God, is one spirit with God; he can have no thought, no desire, save for God, and for the things of God, for he is filled with the fulness of God. Yet, "God is love," and the more closely a soul is united to God, the more does it abound in love. It is true that God is impassible, but He is not insensible, for His "nature is to have mercy and to forgive;" so, then, thou must needs be merciful, since thou art joined to Him Who sheweth mercy, and thine affection, although transformed, is no whit diminished. Thou hast laid aside thine infirmities, but not thy love, for "love abideth," saith the Apostle, and throughout Eternity thou wilt not forget me. It seems to me that I hear my brother saying, "Can a woman forget her sucking child? yea, they may forget, yet will I never forget thee." Truly it is not expedient; you know where you have left me, and that there is none to stretch out a hand to me. In all that has happened since, I have looked to Gerard as I had been wont, and he is not. And then, alas! in my misery, I groan like one without help! Who am I henceforward to consult in my perplexity; who will bear with me the burden of my lot? Who will guard me from the perils by which I am surrounded? for it was Gerard who directed my steps. The cares that oppress me, weighed more heavily on thy heart, than on my own. In

sweet and gracious discourse thou would supply my place, that so set free from secular affairs, I might enjoy the silence in which I so greatly delight. He stopped the multitude of visitors, and did not suffer all promiscuously to absorb my leisure, but taking on himself the task of hearing them, he only brought to me those cases which he judged necessary. O! faithful friend, who discharged at once the duties of friendship and of love; not that his taste led him to these importunate cares. No! he assumed them in order to save *me*, to relieve *me*, in the belief that my repose was more profitable to the monastery than his own. Indeed, though he worked more than all, he received less than all, so that often when he would minister necessaries to others, he himself would be wanting many things, even food and clothing. And at the approach of death, "Thou knowest, O my God," he said, "that my desire has always been for retirement and communion with Thee, but it was Thy service, the will of my brethren, the duty of submission, and above all, my love for that brother who is at once my father and my superior, that have caused me to occupy myself with the temporal affairs of the monastery." And this, indeed, was the truth. It is to Gerard that I owe my advancement in spiritual exercises. While I was wrapt in my Saviour, or perhaps ministering to the wants of my children, thou wert overwhelmed with business. Indeed, I might rest in thee, in full assurance, that thou wouldest act in all as my right hand, as the light of my eyes, as my heart and my tongue. Thy hand was indefatigable, thine eye was single, thy heart was pure, thy tongue judicious; as it is written, "The mouth of the righteous speaketh wisdom, and his tongue talketh of judgment." The Lord had given him a skilful tongue, so that he knew when he ought to speak. In truth, by the prudence of his replies, and the grace given to him, he gave satisfaction both to his companions and to strangers, so that those who had consulted Gerard, rarely inquired again. Gerard was useful in all things, in great as well as small; in public as well as private affairs; in spiritual cases, as well as in external business. But why have I spoken of matters exterior? as though he had been ignorant of spiritual things, or destitute of spiritual gifts. They who knew him, knew him to be spiritual, knew his words to have the sweet savour of the Spirit. His brethren know that his converse savoured not of the flesh, but glowed with the Spirit. Nor in the greatest things only, but in the least he was greatest. He understood buildings, and the management of fields, gardens,

and waters; and in all the arts of husbandry, none eluded the skill of Gerard. He was a perfect master of all trades, and could teach bricklayers, workers in iron, shoemakers, and weavers; and when in the judgment of all men, he was wiser than all, still in his own he was but ignorant and foolish. And though I say these things of him, yet were there in him things greater far than these to be discovered; but I speak as I can of him who was my flesh and my brother, and this I may say, a more sober mind, a more peaceful heart, a more powerful and eloquent speech, a more intense affection, never could be found in man; and I depended entirely on him, for he alone bore the burden of my charge, leaving me only its name and honours. He thus procured for me the leisure necessary for my prayers and meditations, for my readings, and for the preparation of my discourses.

And, alas! he is taken away, and with him all my joys have departed; new cares rush on, new troubles beat against me, and on all sides I am environed by perplexities; *and alone.* These are all that remain to me, now thou art absent; and alone I groan under the burden. Would that I might have died with thee, for to survive thee is drudgery and grief. Nevertheless, it is fit I should live, though in sadness and bitterness. Flow then, my tears, since you would fain be shed; let the floodgates of my eyes be opened, and pour forth tears, to wash away the crimes that have drawn down on me this chastisement. Yet though I be in heaviness I repine not. The Divine justice hath acquitted itself towards us both: the one who deserved it, hath been punished, the other who had earned it, hath received the crown. Me it smote, not him; me it slew, for would any one say that he is slain, who is planted in life? But that which is the gate of life to him, to me is manifestly death. But the Lord hath shewn Himself at once just and merciful: "He hath given, He hath taken away," and while we deplore the loss of Gerard, let us not forget that he was given to us. . . . God grant Gerard that I may not have lost thee, but that thou hast preceded me, and that I may be with thee where thou art. For a surety, thou hast rejoined those whom, in that thy last night below, thou didst invite to praise God; when suddenly, to the great surprise of all present, thou didst with a serene countenance and with a cheerful voice, commence chanting the verse of the Psalm, "Praise ye the Lord from the heavens. Praise ye Him, all His angels." At that moment, O my brother, the day had dawned upon thee, although it

was night to us; the night was for thee all brightness. I was called to be present at this miracle, to see a man rejoicing in his death. O grave, where is thy victory? O death, where is thy sting? Thou art no sting, but a triumph to him. He dies singing, and sings dying. And death, the parent of sadness, is to him a source of joy.

Just as I reached his side, I heard him utter aloud those words of the Psalmist, "Father! into Thy hands I commend my spirit." Then repeating the verse over again, and resting on the words, "Father," "Father," he turned himself towards me, and smiling said, "Oh! how gracious of God to be the Father of men; and what an honour for men to be His children;" and then very distinctly, "and if children then heirs." And so he died, and so dying, he well nigh changed my grief into rejoicing, so completely did the sight of his happiness overpower the recollection of my own misery.

I had forgotten, but thou Lord didst not forget the agreement that I made with Thee; and Thy mercies, that Thou mightest be justified in Thy saying, and clear when Thou art judged. Last year, my brethren, when we were at Viterbo, on the business of the Church, Gerard fell sick. The disorder daily gained ground, and it seemed to me, that the time had arrived for God to call him to Himself. But I could not make up my mind to part with the kind companion of my journeyings in a foreign land, and I earnestly desired to bring him back in safety, to those by whom he had been entrusted to me, for all loved him, and he deserved to be loved by all; therefore I besought the Lord with tears and groans, praying and saying, "Lord, wait for our return; wait till I shall have restored him to his friends, his brethren; then if it be Thy will take him, and I will not murmur."

Lord, Thou didst hear my prayer, and didst heal him. We finished the work which Thou gavest us to do, and we returned together with joy, bringing with us the fruits of peace. Alas! I had well nigh forgotten my promise, but Thou Lord didst remember it perfectly, and now my heart is ready to break for its faithlessness. And what can I say? Thou hast but called for Thine own, Thou hast but taken that which belonged to Thee. And now my tears put an end to my words. I pray Thee teach me how to put an end to my tears.

NOTES TO CHAPTER III.

(1.) *Animated by them in their purity.* Page 207.

It is impossible to determine with accuracy, from the accounts which have come down to us, how far Arnold of Brescia was implicated in the tumultuary proceedings at Rome. The testimony of those historians, to whom, as a heretic, he was odious, cannot be received as conclusive; and is it not highly improbable, that if he had been a primary agent, he should have been entirely overlooked by Bernard in the letter addressed by the latter to the Roman people, in which the nobles of the city only are criminated, as indeed they had had the greatest share in the schism? It is certain that Arnold remained in security at Rome, under the protection of some powerful families, during the reigns of Eugenius and Anastasius, till the year 1155. It was Pope Adrian who first employed forcible measures to get rid of him. A cardinal had been openly attacked in the public streets, and mortally wounded, by a pretended follower of Arnold, who certainly was not imbued with the spirit of his master. The motives of the assassin are unknown, but in consequence of the murder, the pope laid the whole city under the interdict; and this mode of proceeding, generally so successful, did not now fail of its wonted effect. The displeasure of the people fell upon the senators by whom Arnold was protected, and they were compelled to go before the pope, and to take an oath that they would expel him and his adherents from Rome, unless they would return to their obedience to the pope. It was not till the senators had fulfilled their promise that the interdict was taken off. Arnold was obliged to leave the city, and in his flight was seized by one of the cardinals, but delivered by three nobles of the country, who honoured him as a prophet. In the meanwhile the Emperor Frederick the First came to Rome, and the pope, among other conditions, required that Arnold should be given up to him; and the emperor, to whom he had been represented as a heretic and a mover of sedition, caused him to be delivered to the Roman

prefects. He was condemned to be hanged; the sentence was carried into execution; and lest his bones should be collected and honoured as the relics of a martyr by the people, these were burned, and the ashes cast into the Tiber. Cf. Acta Vatican. ap. Baron. ad ann. 1155. Günther Ligurin. Otto Frising. de Gest. F. I. l. ii. c. 20. It is not improbable that the principles which Arnold had disseminated in Rome, on the relations between Church and State, had some influence even on the mind of the man by whom he was delivered up to his enemies, and thus contributed to bring about the war between the Emperor Frederick, the pope, and the house of Hohenstauffen.

That Arnold possessed something beyond the mere popular eloquence which dazzles for a moment, is proved by the fact of the ideas which he had disseminated being retained long after his death, in the countries where he had laboured, in spite of all the efforts of the clergy to eradicate them. Thus Gunther, in narrating the diffusion of his doctrines in the Tyrol, says,—"Quod adhuc, ni fallor, in illa gente nocet multumque sacro detruncat honori." And of Switzerland,—"Unde venenato dudum corrupta sapore, et nimium falsi doctrinæ vatis inhærens, servat adhuc vitæ gustum gens illa paternæ."

It was from these regions that Fra Dalcino came, towards the close of the thirteenth century; and thus in tranquillity were propagated the opinions of the man whose temporal existence had been sacrificed to the spiritual ideas by which he was animated. The farther we remove from his times, the more favourable do we find the judgment concerning Arnold. Trithem. (Chron. Hirsung. p. 157. ed. Basil.) describes him as a man of great piety, who reproved the vices of the clergy with the word of God, and at last fell a victim to the hatred of the cardinals. The speech which he puts into Arnold's mouth before his death, though suitable enough to the spirit of the man, I dare not admit on the authority of one so far removed from him by time, and so little versed in chronology as to place Arnold, whom he styles Arnulph, in the pontificate of Honorius.

(2.) *Who was smarting under the reproaches.* Page 214.

Particularly the burning of the town of Vitri, where thousands had perished. V. Guilielm. Nangis. Chron. ap. d'Achery, t. iii. ad a. 1143, and Pagi. The sources for what follows are Odo a Diogillo ap. Chifflet. Bernardi genus illustre assertum.

Otto Frising. de Gest. Frid. l. i. c. 29—34, et seqq. Vit. Bernard. vi. ap. Mabillon. c. iv.

(3) *Ye must in no wise persecute the Jews.* Page 223.

On this occasion the abbot of Clugni failed to exhibit the same Christian spirit of gentleness and moderation. He thus writes to King Lewis, ep. i. iv. 36,—"What shall it profit us to attack the enemies of our Christian hope in distant lands, while the ungodly Jews, who are far more wicked than any Saracens, are suffered boldly and openly to blaspheme and dishonour Christ and His sacraments in the midst of us? If the Saracens are to be abhorred, because while they, in common with ourselves, believe in Christ's birth of the Virgin, and in many other particulars respecting His person, they yet deny His Divinity and Resurrection, which are the very ground of our salvation, how much more hateworthy are the Jews, who believe nothing at all of Christ, and wholly reject and deride all the sacraments of man's redemption." "True," he says, "it is contrary to the will of God that the Jews should be rooted out by the sword, for when 'the fulness of the Gentiles is come in,' the remnant of that miserable people shall be converted to Christ; still they are to be punished in a manner appropriate to their transgressions." "That which I say," he continues, "is known unto all men, that not by ordinary husbandry, not by lawful warfare, not by any honourable or profitable employment, do they fill their barns with corn, their cellars with wine, and their chests with gold, but by purchasing from thieves in secret the most costly things, at the vilest prices." (Here the abbot cites an antiquated law, that when church vessels are found upon Jews, they are under no obligation to restore them, or to betray the thief.) "Their lives, indeed, should be spared; but their substance, or the greater part of it, should be taken from them, and to form a fund for the prosecution of the crusade." "Stultum esset nec offensa, ut arbitror, divina careret, si sacræ expeditioni, cui juxta congruentem modum impendendæ sunt res Christianorum, multo amplius non servirent pecuniæ profanorum."

(4) *After the termination of this business in France.* Page 229.

According to the biography of the life of Hildegard, l. i. c. 4. (in Sanctæ Hildegardis Epistolarum liber, item ejusd. Hilde-

gard. alia quædam, nunc primum in lucem edita, Colon. 1566, p. 276, or in Actis SS. Anto. ad 17 Sept. pag. 680. § 5.) the pope had holden the synod of Treves immediately after that of Rheims. But Pagi, ad a. 1148, proves, from the pope's journeys after the council of Rheims, that Eugenius's three months' stay at Treves must have preceded the opening of that council; other facts to the same effect may be seen in Commentar. præv. in Actis SS. l. c. § iii. n. 27. Hildegard dictated the revelations she received to a monk, by whom they were grammatically arranged. V. l. c. § 11. n. 18. I adduce a few extracts from her writings, in confirmation of the judgment I have given in the text. They are quoted from Resp. ad Ep. 51. Paez. Thes. Anecdot. t. ii.

"God is that reason, without beginning and without end, through whom man also is a reasonable being. From this source of reason, which is God Himself, issued the Bible, the mirror in which by faith we see God." Resp. ad ep. 132, ibid.

"In man dwelleth the breath to which God hath communicated eternal life, and imparted the faculty of reason. Raise thyself, then, by faith and earnest desire towards God, and strive to apprehend the God in whom thou livest, and from whom thou hast received the origin of thine existence." Collect. Colon. laudat. p. 103.

"He who is guilty of denying the existence of God in his heart, does, in fact, deny the existence of the heavens and the earth, and of all things living, which do but exist in and by God,—yea, he denieth his own existence also; and what is it but madness, for a man with a consciousness of being, to doubt of that being?"

On the difficult question of the origin of evil, she says:—

"Without the word of God was nought created. Now pride and selfishness are nought, and evil can effect nought of itself, because it is nought—nothing but a delusive option."

Even a Parisian professor (Magister), perplexed by the disputes occasioned by the teaching of Gilbert, applied to Hildegard for her opinion, and she hesitated not to condemn the bishop's doctrines in the plainest terms. Ep. 66. ap. Paez. "Deus plenus est et integer et absque principio temporum, et ideo non potest dividi sermone, sicut homo dividi potest. Quod creatura initium habet, ex hoc invenit rationalitas hominis Deum per nomina, sicut et ipsa in proprietate sua plena est nominum."

Hildegard did not scruple to tell disagreeable truths even to

popes and prelates. In her admonitory discourse to the clergy of Cologne, p. 157, we have, for example, the following passage:— "By the teaching of the Holy Scriptures, which are the outpouring of the sacred fire of the Holy Ghost, ye should be the pillars of the Church; but ye are debased and fallen, and no longer support her, being devoted to the pursuit of riches, covetousness, and all vanity; so that ye no longer attend to the teaching of your people, nor suffer them to seek instruction at your mouth; under the pretence that you cannot attend to all things."

The bishop of Mentz having visited her convent with the interdict, in consequence of her having afforded burial to an excommunicated person, she freely wrote to him (p. 147), "He who opposeth himself to the will of God must be cut off from the body of the Church, even as he hath, by his own disobedience, separated himself from it, till such time as he shall have purified himself by repentance, and so be received again to the communion of the Lord's Supper by his ordinary; but he who is not conscious of any such impediment, may with confidence participate in the sacraments."

She proceeds to speak of the origin and end of Church music, which, by the imposition of the interdict, was now prohibited in her convent:—"As long as Adam kept the image of God, and was thus the organ of the Holy Ghost, his voice was harmony and music, beyond what the weakness of mortal man would now be able to bear. In order to commemorate this original position of man, the prophets, moved by the Holy Ghost, invented not only psalms and spiritual songs, but also musical instruments, that through the outward senses the souls of men might be elevated; and as men are apt to sigh at the sound of a song, being thus reminded of the nature of the soul and of the harmonies of heaven; therefore the prophets, considering the nature of the spirit, exhort men to 'praise God upon the lute.' He then," she continues, "who, without sufficient ground, presumes to silence the music of the Church, shall on his part be excluded from the fellowship of the angel choristers of heaven, unless he make amends by genuine repentance. Those to whose keeping the keys of the kingdom of heaven are committed, must therefore be careful lest they shut that which they should open, and open that which they should rather shut. And I heard a voice saying unto me, Who hath power to shut the gates of heaven?—God.

Who is it that opens heaven to the faithful?—God. Who is like unto Him?—No one."

It is in the writings of Hildegard that we find the first traces of those prophecies of an improved and flourishing state of the degraded Church, which were afterwards generally diffused throughout the middle ages, and which were adopted in a variety of forms by the various sects that attacked the Church. "In the year 1100," says Hildegard, "the doctrine of the apostles and the flame of piety began to wax dim, and in that year I was born." After reproving the vices of the clergy, and the corruption of the Church, she thus announced the coming wrath:—"Enemies of the clergy shall arise, men who, assuming the semblance of piety and holiness—(she here alludes to the Cathari)—shall disclose the vices of the priesthood, and by setting up their seeming holiness as a pattern, shall draw to them the great ones of the earth, and thus raise up fierce persecutions against the Church and her possessions; but, through these persecutions, shall the Church by degrees be purified. At the first, a few only from among the multitude shall signalize themselves by amendment of life; then, terrified by the execution of the vengeance, and purified by its effects, a yet greater number shall be converted, and lead the true Christian life in the spirit. Moved by their example, the laity shall bethink themselves, and turn unto their God, and an universal outpouring of the Holy Ghost shall be the result." P. 169. "Then shall the dawn of righteousness break forth, and your latter end shall be better than the beginning. Ye shall shine as the fine gold, and prophets shall arise, and the Holy Scriptures be explained by the Holy Ghost." P. 176.

These prophecies of Hildegard were, in after times, frequently applied to the circumstances of the Church, and appear to have received their fulfilment in them. When, towards the middle of the thirteenth century, the well-known Doctor of the Sorbonne, William de St. Amour, drew a sketch of the evils that menaced the Church in the last times, as a warning to his contemporaries (particularly against the mendicant orders); and set together, and explained in this view, those passages of Holy Writ which appeared to him to bear on the subject; he also placed the predictions of Hildegard [as evidence] in the list of approaching dangers, as prophecies announcing a coming struggle. In his preface to those "Collectiones Scripturæ Sacræ," he says,—"Notandum etiam quod quasdam scripturas seu prophetias Hildegardis pro-

phetissæ Teutonicæ ad opus propositum pertinentes (cujus prophetissæ librorum quidam per B. Bernardum collecti in Clarav. monasterio continentur) in serie hujus libelli posuimus, et illas ideo confidentius assumsimus, quoniam per prædictum sanctum virum Spiritum Dei habentem fuerant collectæ, ut dictum est, et in archivo sui monasterii inter scripturas canonicas collocatæ. Vidimus etiam quendam librum de archivo eodem assumptum, quasdam prophetias dictæ Hildegardis exponentem, et inter cætera continentem, quod tempore Bernardi Eugenius Papa libros ejusdem prophetissæ canonizavit in concilio Treverensi." V. Opp. G. a S. Amore Constantiæ, 1632, pag. 126.

In the picture drawn by Hildegard of the hypocritical professors of the day, who separated themselves from the body of the Church, attacked the vices of the clergy, and by their sternly-ascetic lives, and their assumption of poverty and humility, attracted the veneration of the people and the nobles, and then, with the assistance of the latter, would fain in the end assail the Church, (in which the idea of the sectaries had been present to her, V. N. 12.) St. Amour might easily believe he saw a portrait of the mendicant friars. V. p. 130. In this age, also, ideas were in general circulation, (regarding apostolical fellowship and resignation, evangelical perfection and poverty, as opposed to the pomp and luxury of the clergy and monks,) such as were further developed by these sectaries, and which were the same as those that had been brought forward at the institution of the Franciscan orders. But in the case of the sectaries, the dominant Church was immediately assailed, while the Franciscans at first annexed themselves to it; although afterwards they took a contrary direction, in consequence of the division between the *Fratres Communitates* and *Spirituales*, when the Church was found to oppose the realization of these ideas in their full strictness.

The general outline of prophecy, as first drawn by Hildegard, was subsequently filled up by churchmen and sectaries, in accordance with their different views and tendencies. Even in the Catholic Church the idea that a general schism, a separation from the Romish hierarchy was to be expected, was diffused. The κάτεχον of the Second Epist. to the Thessal. ii. 6, which was applied by the early Christians to the Romish empire, was now applied to papal Rome. Hence the anticipation of an impending schism—ἀποστασία, v. 3.

So W. de S. Amour, l. c. p. 209. Because the seducers could

not attain their object. "Durante obedientia omnium Catholicorum ad Romanam ecclesiam matrem omnium et magistram, procurare poterunt ut ab obedientia Romanæ ecclesiæ discedatur, et sic per dissolutionem ecclesiasticæ unitatis parare viam Antichristo venturo, qui non prius manifestabitur, nisi parata sibi sede, i. e. nisi facta illa discessione."

Even in this age, when Pope Innocent the Fourth, enraged at the stern verities uttered by Robert Grosshead, bishop of Lincoln, wished to inflict summary chastisement, he was warned by the cardinals not to make any open exhibition of his displeasure, so as to excite any commotion; for this reason especially, that men knew, "quod quandoque discessio est ventura," (for that sometimes a discussion is likely to arise.)—Vide Matth. Paris, Hist. Angl. Mag. ad a. 1253.

(5) *Gilbert, surnamed Porretanus.* Page 235.

For Gilbert's life, Boulai. Hist. Univers. Parisiens. t. iii. p. 204. For the life of Abelard, Otto Frising. de Gest. Frideric. I. l. i. c. 47. "Sententiam vocum seu nominum in naturali tenens facultate, non caute theologia admiserit. Quare de S. Trinitate docens tres personas, quas sancta ecclesia non vacua nomina tantum, sed res distinctas suisque proprietatibus discretas pie credidit, nimis attenuans." For Gilbert's System of Universal Ideas, Joh. Salisb. Metalog. l. ii. c. ix. "Universalitatem formis nativis tribuit, forma nativa originale exemplum, quæ non in mente Dei consistit, sed rebus creatis inhæret, εἶδος habens se ad ideam, ut exemplum ad exemplar, sensibilis in re sensibili, sed mente concipitur insensibilis." Abelard warmly opposed these doctrines of Gilbert, which he numbered among the heresies. Theolog. Christian. l. iv. pag. 1314. ap. Martene: "Magister magni nominis in pago Andegavensi in tantum prorumpere ausus est insaniam, ut omnia creaturarum nomina ad Deum translata, ipsi quoque Deo convenire velit ex quibusdam formis, diversis essentialiter ab ipso Deo, sicut et in creaturis." (This was not exactly Gilbert's own meaning, even according to the testimony of his theological opponents. What he asserted was, that the creatures received their individual being through divers concurrent εἴδη, and that God's existence, on the contrary, was exhausted in one idea.) Cf. Theolog. l. iii. pag. 1285 et seqq. His dialectical polemics against Gilbert are as follows: "nam et in nobis ipsis multa relative dicuntur, cum nemo discretas relationes ipsas aliud a

nobis esse concedat, quippe unaquæque res cuilibet alteri similis dicitur in eo, quod non est ipsa. Quid enim ridiculosius, ut cum aliquis modo nascitur, cui similis efficior, propter illum quædam res nova mihi innascatur, quæ cum illa perierit necesse sit deperire?"

In my statement of Gilbert's controversies, I have followed his admirer, Otto von Freysingen, de G. F. I. ii. c. 46. 50 et seq. compared with lib. iii. Vit. B. auct. Gaufrid. ep. ad Albin. c. V. § 15. pag. 1139, and particularly, Gaufrid. ep. ad Albin. card. ejusd. libell. c. capitula Gilberti, l. c. pag. 1336, who are partial to Bernard. The last-cited is especially valuable, as it gives the heads of accusation against Gilbert, supported by quotations from his own works. I adduce some of these, as vouchers for the statements in the text. On the diverse application of general ideas to the Godhead and the creatures.

"Sicut non est *quo* Deus sit nisi sola atque simplex essentia, i. e. οὐσία, sic non est unde οὐσία ipsa sit, nisi quod eâ *simplex et solus* Deus est: unde et usus loquendi, ut de Deo dicatur, non modo Deus est; verum etiam, Deus est ipsa essentia. Recte utique: si enim qui non modo sapiens, sed etiam coloratus et magnus, et multa hujusmodi est a sapientiæ præ cæteris abundantia dicitur totus sapientia, multo proprius Deus, cui *diversa* non conferunt, dicitur *ipsa essentia*, et aliis *nominibus* idem."

On the twofold use of the word substance (parallel with John Philoponus on the twofold signification of the word φύσις distinguished as *in abstracto*, synonymous with εἶδος, *in concreto* with ὑπόστασις. "Sabelliani cum audiunt unius substantiæ tres esse personas et inductas similitudines vel unius animæ mentem, notitiam, amorem vel unius radii splendorem, calorem, etc. putant quod sicut unus solus est radius, de quo dicuntur splendor et calor, etc. ita unus solus subsistens sit, qui naturâ cum sit Deus, idem ipse personalibus proprietatibus sit Pater, Filius, et Spiritus Sanctus. Quos hic error patenter ostendit ignorare hujus nominis, quod est substantia, multiplicem usum, videlicet et quod est et *quo est*, hoc nomine designari."

On the personal qualities:—"Theologicæ personæ quæ ejus quo sunt et id quod sunt simplicitate, *essentiarum* oppositione a se invicem aliæ esse non possunt; sed harum, quæ dictæ sunt, extrinsecus affixarum rerum oppositione a se invicem aliæ et probantur et sunt."

Referring to these disputes, Otto von Freysingen says of Ber-

nard, "Erat tam religionis fervore zelotypus quam ex habitudinali mansuetudine quodammodo credulus, ut et magistris qui humanis rationibus seculi sapientia confisi nimium inhærebant, abhorreret, et si quicquam ei Christianæ fidei absonum de talibus diceretur, facile aurem præberet."

(6) *returned with undiminished honour to his diocese.* Page 244.

Yet according to the account given by the friends of Bernard, and to his own Sermo in Cantica, 8⁰, § 8, Gilbert had certainly retracted his opinions, and the pope had forbidden any transcription of his books. At least, Bernard considered it necessary to preach a sermon against his doctrines, "propter eos, qui adhuc librum, contra apostolicum utique promulgatum interdictum, transcribere et lectitare feruntur, contentiose persistentes sequi episcopum, in quo ipse non stetit." In the Consid. l. V. c. 7. he also disputes against them. Yet Bernard was no enemy to learning, he only *intended* to set himself against the overweening conceit of dialectics. There is a sermon of his (36) on the "Profitableness and Use of Learning." I give the following extract: "Peter, Andrew, the sons of Zebedee, and the rest of the disciples, were not indeed taken from the schools of rhetoric and philosophy, and yet the Redeemer of the world effected the salvation of mankind through them; not through their wisdom, though it was greater than in all other living men; but through their faith and their meekness he exalted them to be saints and teachers of the human race; they made known the way of life, not by lofty discourses, not by the eloquence of human wisdom, but (as it pleased God to lead the faithful to heaven) 'by the foolishness of preaching,' 'when the world by wisdom knew not God.' But perhaps I appear to go too far in the reprehension of learning, and to prohibit the study of human wisdom. That be far from me. Well do I know how the learned have served, and still continue to serve the Church, both in gainsaying her adversaries, and in upholding her simple ones." He then distinguishes the use from the abuse of wisdom, and states three illegitimate modes of study. "Some there are who only wish for knowledge for its own sake, an evil covetousness; others, that they may be distinguished for their knowledge, a corrupt vanity; others, that they may exchange their knowledge for gold, or for high places. But the true use is only the edification of ourselves and others. And he who for the acquisition of much knowledge in unnecessary matters, neg-

lects the knowledge of himself, hath missed the right way. The spiritual building cannot stand fast unless it be built on the foundation of humility, and there is nought so likely to promote humility as that each should know himself as he is in truth; for how should he be otherwise than humble who knoweth himself laden with sins, bowed down by the burden of an earthly tabernacle, and encompassed with earthly cares? But when we lift up our eyes to the Divine mercy, then will the gracious aspect of God soften the harshness of this self-knowledge; and thus doth self-knowledge become a step to the knowledge of God, and man recognizes God in his own renewed image of the Godhead."

(7) *wretched condition of the great body of the clergy.* Page 246.

I might adduce many examples of the popular superstitions of this age, fostered in many instances by the great body of monks and clergy, though opposed by the better sort. The abbot Guibert de Nogent (sous Conci) who lived at the beginning of the twelfth century, and was a disciple of the philosophic Anselm of Canterbury, wrote his work, de Pignoribus Sanctorum, against the multiplication of saints and relics, and the deceits often practised on the people by the monks. He gives numerous instances of accidental causes which had led to men quite unworthy of the honour, being venerated as saints throughout vast districts. Men, who, says Guibert, "being condemned to the damnation of hell, would themselves, with that rich man, implore help of their votaries if they were able, and it could avail them;" p. 330, Opp. ed. d'Achery. Earnestly does he inveigh against the quackeries of the clergy and monks, who carried their forged relics in procession, and made a show of them, in order to recommend themselves in the most despicable manner to the people. "Crebro teri perspicimus ista susurro et facta feretrorum circumlatione ridicula et eorum, quos a rabie declamandi rabulos Hieronymus vocat, mendaciis quotidie cernimus alieni marsupii profunda nudari." He gives an example. "The dignitaries of one of the principal churches had appointed such a procession as a means of gain, by which they sought to indemnify themselves for a certain loss they had sustained. Over the relics, and in my presence, the following bombastic discourse was uttered. 'Know, that in this box is contained a portion of the bread, of which our Lord hath eaten with His own teeth; if ye believe not, lo there,' pointing to me, 'is our champion, and ye well know what a learned man he is; there needs but a word from me,

and he is ready to appear as our voucher.' Who could have believed it? I blushed at his words, and had I not respected the presence of those who had apparently authorized him, I must at once have unmasked him as a deceiver." He attributes this abuse and deception, to the practice of removing the saints from their graves, in order to divide their remains, for the purpose of setting the separate limbs in the most splendid manner in gold and silver, (a practice that was not tolerated till the close of the seventh century, as is evident from the life and letters of Gregory the Great, on account of the general reverential awe of the last resting-place,) "and through this pomp of the coffin," says Guibert, "thou seekest to preserve thyself from the contact of earth; but thou shalt be turned to earth whether thou wilt or not. Had the bodies of the saints been left in their appropriate and natural place, the grave, these errors would not have arisen. And whereas devotion furnished the first motive for these processions, iniquity soon joined itself thereto, and now hath covetousness altogether destroyed that which begun in simplicity." Guibert starts the question, whether prayers made to these supposititious saints of popular tradition are profitable or not? and he thus solves the difficulty: "yea, when they are invoked out of the depth of the heart, and in faith, for then God, who is the source and object of the prayer (qui causa et fructus est orationis) hath the whole intention of it, (intentio deprecantis tota defigitur) as the soul appears to err through ignorance, in respect to the Intercessor." The fourth book of this work seems to have been written by Guibert with a view to deny the superstitious and grossly sensual representations then common, which men then made of the spiritual world, after the legends of heavenly apparitions, purgatory, and so forth. He argued on the principle, that it is by contemplation alone, withdrawing herself from all contact with the objects of sense, that man can penetrate the invisible world, and that imagination has no power there, where there is neither time nor space. Those passages in Scripture, or in the legends, where the state of the invisible world, and the nature of eternal rewards and punishments are represented under material images, are but similitudes taken from the material world, in order to give man ideas* of those sublimities which are above all human representation.

* Anschauungen (German).

Sects of Manicheans and Gnostics had still maintained themselves there. Page 253.

Origenes Philocal. c. 5. attributes the spread of Gnosticism even among men of contemplative and chastened minds to the ἀπορία τῶν πρεσβευόντων τὰ κρείττονα, for that these men could not submit to τὴν ἄλογον καὶ ἰδιωτικὴν πίστιν.

(8) *south of France.* Page 256.

For the sects that had spread themselves in Sardinia and Spain, in the beginning of the eleventh century, see Glaber Rudolph, l. ii. c. 12. There were also at Orleans, (at this time famed for its flourishing school,) among the clergy several learned and distinguished members of a sect, which probably originated from the seed of oriental error. They were betrayed by a man, whom they had sought to proselytize, and thereupon sentenced to death, a. 1017, v. Gesta Synodi Aurelianensis ap. d'Achery Spicel. ed. nov. vol. i. and Glaber Rudolph. t. iii. c. 18. Only eight years later, a similar society, apparently of Italian origin, was discovered at Artois. Its members placed the being of religion in evangelical piety, and held all external ceremonies to be unprofitable, v. Gesta Synod. Atrebat. ap. d'Achery, l. c. As early as the year 1052, Cathari had been discovered and executed at Goslar, vide Hermann Contract. ad h. a. ap. Pistor. pag. 143. d'Argentré, Collect. Judic. de Nov. Errorib. p. 9. (In the latter work will be found most of the facts I have produced, relating to the sects, and a few others.) A branch of the same sect was found at Soissons in the beginning of the twelfth century, under the protection of the count of Soissons; one of those men (according to Guibert) of whom we meet with occasional examples in the middle ages, who were infidels out of sheer brutality, and to whom nothing was sacred. He afforded his countenance to the sectaries, not out of any regard to their doctrines or their spirit, but for the gratification of his hatred against the clergy. Guibert also styles him the friend of the Jews, and it is very probable that he may have taken them under his protection, either from motives of interest, or in order to vex and irritate the ministers of the Church. It was particularly against *his* blasphemies that Guibert wrote his Tractatus contra Judæos. The Count may have borrowed some of his discourses against the birth of a Divine Being from the Virgin, from these sectaries, for they were in the habit of speaking against it,

according to the Manichean principles. These sectaries appear to have spread their doctrines principally among the peasantry; their meetings were held in subterranean apartments and in caves, and this circumstance gave rise to the popular reports of unnatural excesses said to be committed by them. Such reports, however, deserve no credit whatever, for they have ever been the result of confederations and assemblages held in secret, as in the case of the early Christians. Two of them being taken before the bishop, asserted their orthodoxy, and their testimony being rejected, as was usually the case, they were sentenced to prove it by the trial by ordeal (judicium aquæ exorcizatæ). When by this means it was deemed that they were half convicted, half self-confessed heretics, they were put in prison till their cause could be tried at the council of Beauvais; but the fanatic mob forced their way to the bishop (versus mollitiem clericalem) and led those unhappy victims away to the scaffold, where they perished, stedfast to the last in the profession of their principles. This is related by Guibert with a species of approbation, not, certainly, exactly in accordance with the ideas of a Bernard, or a Peter of Clugni. Vide Guibert. Novigent. de Vita sua s. monod. l. iii. c. 15, 16.

(9) *amid the distracting commotions.* Page 256.

That these sects were widely diffused throughout Spain, in the time of Bernard, appears from that place, De Consid. l. iii. cap. i. § 4. "De hæresi quæ ubique pæne serpit, apud aliquos palam sævit, nam parvulos ecclesiæ (the simple ones of the Church) passim et publice deglutire festinat. Quæris ubi sit hoc? Vestri (the papal legates) qui *terram Austri* tam sæpe visitant, ecce hi sciunt et possunt dicere tibi. Eunt et redeunt per medium illorum et transeunt secus; sed quid boni adhuc cum illis egerint necdum audivimus, et forsitan audissemus nisi præ auro *Hispaniæ* salus populi viluisset." It is probable that these sects originated from the Priscillians, who, as we are aware, have continued to propagate their opinions even in later times.

(10) *under one common name.* Page 256.

For the names of these sects, vide Echbert, Sermones adv. Catharos, in Bibl. Patr. Lugd. They were particularly called Cathari in Germany, and Mosheim is inclined to derive the name from Gazari, or inhabitants of the Crimea, as other heretics have been called after the country where they were first discovered;

for example, the Bulgari, which afterwards became an universal term of reproach. In like manner the German word katzer, heretic, came from kazeri, kathari: but it does not seem so impossible as Mosheim considered it, that the name should be of Greek derivation. The Paulicians called themselves the true Catholic Church, as opposed to the ruling and corrupted establishment: they might thus easily style themselves τοὺς τῆς καθαρᾶς ἐκκλησίας τοὺς καθαρούς. This name, adopted by them in the East, remained with them when they became dispersed among the European nations, although its meaning was little understood.

In France they were called Tisserands, from the circumstance of their being found in great numbers among the weavers. They were also styled "Publicains," but this was more particularly in the southern provinces of France, for, as these provinces were then distinguished by the name of Novempopulania, thence novempopulani, populicani, publicani, &c.; and this, from a provincial, became a general term for these sectaries. The term Piphles, by which they were distinguished in Flanders, was a corruption of this.

In Italy, particularly in Lombardy, where they made their appearance later, they obtained the name of Paterini; the origin of which, as regards the history of the sect, is curious. The strict ascetic ordinances of Gregory the Seventh and his successors had met with the fiercest opposition from the clergy of the Milanese, who, proud of the independence of their Ambrosian Church, refused to recognize the absolute supremacy of the popes of Rome. But the people, exasperated by the immoral lives of the clergy, rose in tumult, and sought to force the observance of the ordinances upon them. Some rash enthusiasts placed themselves at the head of the people, and by their violent speeches inflamed the passions of the multitude to such a pitch, that schisms and civil commotions were the consequence. The advocates for the ordinances withdrew themselves from all communion with the Church, declaring that the sacraments as administered by the degenerate clergy, were totally inefficacious. By their opponents these men were then styled Patarini, and their community Pataria or Patalia. By this term they were distinguished as belonging to the inferior classes. Vide the writings of the contemporary Milanese author, Arnulph, Hist. Mediol. l. iii. c. 9. as quoted by Muratori, Script. Ital. tom. iv. Landulphus Senior, Hist. Me-

diol. l. iii. c. 4. describes them thus:—"Fibula dimissa et acu cæterisque negotiis e quibus vita illorum redimebatur, decoloratis dentibus necnon asinarii, quorum vita turpissima tristis asinorum quotidie fulciebatur, quibus Patalia vitam malis artibus ministrabit." Muratori (Antiquitat. Ital. medii ævi, t. v. diss. 60. p. 85) derives the name from the Milanese word Pate, lump. The laity, having once risen in opposition against the clergy, evinced a total disregard to the Church, and declared the whole established form of worship to be inefficacious, in consequence of the profligacy of its ministers, now held their own assemblies for religious worship, and were thus induced, when the pope refused to accede to their wishes, to withdraw themselves entirely from the Church, which they held to have lost her first faith. Through this separation, they fell into a sort of practical mysticism, and being joined by sectaries from other lands, who coincided in their religious views, that which was at first bestowed as a term of reproach by the hierarchical zealots (v. Pagi, ad a. 1058. n. 4.) became the distinguishing appellative of a body of sectaries.

A letter is still extant from Bishop Marbod, sec. xi. ext. ep. 2. among Opp. Hildebert. ed. Beangendre, from which we learn how easily a man might, from the heights of orthodox asceticism, fall into the pit of heresy. It is addressed to some hermits, of whom the bishop had heard that they had refused to be present at the masses offered up by unworthy priests, and had even exhorted the laity to abstain from receiving the sacraments at their hands. "This," says the bishop, "is the error of the Paterini; that the sacraments of the Catholic Church are deprived of their virtue by the unworthiness of the ministers."

(11) *The true signification of the Lord's Supper.* Page 257.

I have here principally followed Eckbert adv. Catharos, and Abelard adv. Hæreses. The adducing the sixth of John, in proof of the symbolical signification of the Lord's Supper, I take from the Disputatio inter Catholicum et Paterinum (ap. Martene et Durand, Thesaur. Anecdot. l. v. pag. 1705), which probably originated in the thirteenth century. The proof from other allegorical and scriptural expressions belongs peculiarly to the Waldenses. V. Tractatus de Hæresi Pauperum de Lugduno, l. c. For the rest, there were many who were led to oppose the doctrine of transubstantiation by the dictates of sound reason, but who were in no other respect in communion with the sects. "Nec

adhuc illam summam controversiam de sacramento altaris, utrum videlicet panis ille qui videtur, figura tantum sit dominici corporis an etiam veritas substantiæ ipsius, finem accepisse certum est." Abelard, Theol. Christ. l. iv. pag. 1315. D.

In the town of Lismore, in Ireland, in the days of archbishop Malachi, a dignified ecclesiastic, came forward and asserted, "that the sanctifying power of the body of Christ was indeed essentially united to the sacrament, but that the body of Christ was not actually present." (In eucharistia esse tantummodo sacramentum et non rem sacramenti, i. e. solam sanctificationem et non corporis veritatem.) Malachi held a dispute with him before a general assembly of the clergy, and the result naturally enough was, that the opponent of transubstantiation was held to be vanquished. His conviction was, however, so strong, that he declared he had been borne down by the bishop's authority, not convinced by his arguments. "Even you yourself," said he to Malachi, "have certainly spoken against the truth, and against your own conscience." He was thereupon excommunicated; but he continued stedfast, and said, "Ye are all favourers of man more than of truth, while I am not to be made to abandon the truth by any personal considerations." V. Vit. S. Malachi, c. xxvi. pag. 688. in Opp. B. t. i.

(12) *regarded as a brother.* Page 258.

"Quidam latibulosi homines," says Eckbert, "qui per multa tempora latitarunt, et occulte fidem christianam in multis simplicitatis hominibus corruperunt, ita per omnes terras multiplicati sunt, ut grande periculum patiatur ecclesia." Abelard, l. c. speaks of "innumeris controversiis, in quarum quotidianis relationibus frequenter obstupescimus, quæ nec per incendia eorum, qui a populo deprehenduntur, compesci possunt." Saint Hildegard says of them, "Per eos tota terra polluta est, unde vos, reges et duces, qui Dominum timetis, populum istum ab ecclesia facultatibus suis privatum expellendo et non occidendo, effugate, *quia forma Dei sunt.*" The image of these sectaries was certainly before her eyes when she prophetically wrote of the hypocritical persecutors of the degenerate clergy. "Per quendam errantem populum, pejorem erranti populo, qui nunc est, super vos prævaricatores ruina cadet, qui ubique vos persequetur et opera vestra denudabit, populus a diabolo seductus et missus pallida facie velut in omni sanctitate se componet, et secularibus

pauperibus se conjunget, populus hic vilibus cappis, quæ alieni coloris sunt induitur, et recto modo tonsus incedit, et omnibus moribus suis placidum et quietum se hominibus ostendit, avaritiam quoque non amat, pecuniam non habet, et in occultis suis tantam abstinentiam imitatur, ut vix ullus ex eis reprehendi possit."

(13) *a pope of their own.* Page 262.

This interpretation is confirmed by a similar mode of expression used by another sect in the middle of the eleventh century, where the symbolical sense is still clearer. The members of a sect, discovered at that time in the Milanese, said, "Pontificem habemus, non illum Romanum; sed alium qui quotidie per orbem terrarum fratres nostros visitat dispersos. Quando Deus illum nobis ministrat, tum peccatorum nostrorum venia summa cum devotione nobis donatur: præter nostrum pontificem non alium novimus nec ministerium, sine tonsura," etc. V. Landulph. sen. Hist. Mediolan. l. ii. c. 27.

(14) *we find a Tanchelin.* Page 263.

If we may trust the concurrent testimony of historians, who certainly were inimical to him, Tanchelin must have been a fac simile of John of Leyden. By his abuse of the clergy, he first drew the attention of the people, who congregated in great numbers in the open fields to hear him preach. He subsequently travelled about the country in great pomp, with an escort of three thousand armed men, and gave great entertainments to his adherents. On Robert's arrival at Antwerp, he sought to oppose this frantic enthusiasm by preaching against it; and he so far succeeded as to prevail on the people to bring forth the consecrated oblations, which they had kept hidden in chests for the space of ten years. V. Robert a Monte, ad a. 1124. Vit. Norbert. in Actis SS. Junii, t. i.; and especially Epist. Trajectensis Ecclesiæ ad Findinium episc. Coloniens. in Vetera Monumenta contra Schismaticos, &c. studio Sebastiani Tengnagel. Ingolstad. 1612. p. 368. In regard to Eudes all are agreed. Farther information may be obtained from Baronius concerning the council of Rheims under Pope Eugenius.

(15) *capable of distinguishing between heaven and earth, idea and agency.* Page 263.

Luther was fully aware of this distinction. When, in the

year 1526, he was engaged in preparing a liturgy for the use of the reformed churches, he wrote as follows:—" We appoint such ordinances, not for the sake of those who are already Christians, for they need none of those things, for which indeed we live not; but they are for our sakes who are not yet Christians, that so we may be made Christians; they have their worship in the spirit. But such ordinances must needs be, for the conversion or the confirmation of men; just as baptism, the ministry of the word and sacraments, are not necessary for a man as a Christian (for as such he possesseth all things), but as a sinner." See German Masses and Liturgies. Halle, Th. x. p. 269.

(16) *In the beginning.* Page 265.

That he was a Presbyter, appears from Abelard, Introd. Theol. 1066, "presbyter in provincia." As Abelard here says of him, " Peter de Bruis continued his exertions for the space of twenty years," referring to him as to one already dead; and this book must certainly have been published before the year 1121, when it was condemned at the council of Soissons; we are thus enabled to reckon with accuracy the time of his first appearance. Paul Perrin has appended to his Histoire des Vaudois, Geneva, 1619, an ancient treatise "On Antichrist," written in the provincial dialect, which, according to his attestation, had been preserved among the Waldenses, bearing date 1120. Now, as the Waldenses were widely diffused in the countries where Peter de Bruys and Henri had laboured, there is nothing improbable in the supposition that they had received from the other sects, with whom they were perhaps already united in spirit and opinion, a compendium of their system of faith, which is to be found in this treatise, and which they had carefully preserved as a venerable witness of the truth. The careful and gentle spirit in which it is written appear inconsistent with the character of Peter de Bruys, and the author declares his views of the sacraments of baptism and the eucharist with far greater moderation than Peter had done, according to the accounts that have come down to us. It is far more likely that it originated with one of those sects, known by the name of Apostolicals, and distinguished by their zeal for the primitive customs of Christianity, and it is highly interesting, as the most ancient and explicit evidence of the pure Christianity of the middle ages. It also bears the impress of the Waldensian character, and differs from that of all the other sects of this

century, by the forbearance with which it refrains from any *express condemnation of infant baptism*, and by its reverence for the Scriptures of the Old Testament. Yet this is insufficient to determine the age of the treatise, since we possess so little express, authentic, and detailed information concerning the respective sects. It opens with an exhibition of the tokens of Antichrist, in the spirit, the proceedings, and the system of the dominant Church. Thence its fine motto, "Enaima lo fum va devant lo fuoc, la batailla devant la victoire, enaima la tentation de l'Antichrist devant la gloria." A genuine Christian spirit appears throughout, as we may see from that which is represented as the substance of true religion. "The inward knowledge of the true Three-in-One God, (which knowledge is not given through flesh and blood,) the supreme love and veneration of God, the living hope in God through Christ, the new birth and the inward renewing by faith, hope, and love; the belief in the merits of Jesus Christ, as suffering for our pardon and justification (cum tota sufficientia de gratia et justitia), the communion with all the elect, the forgiveness of sins, a holy conversation, and the observation of all Christ's commandments, true repentance, perseverance unto the end, and eternal life." The grounds of the argument against the worship of the saints are here better set forth than is usual among the sectaries of this period. "The people are hereby deceived into a sort of carnal faith, as if the saints appeased God's anger against sinners in the same manner as the favourites of earthly kings are wont to intercede for those who have provoked them, and to appease their anger. If this were so, there could be no concord between the will of God and the will of the saints. The people are thus led away to idolatry, and to the conceit that the saints are more merciful than God. We require no other mediator than Christ. He in some manner presents Himself to us before we are able to move towards Him of ourselves; He is at the door, and only knocketh that it may be opened unto Him. And since He is at the right hand of God, and will not tolerate any idolatry, He willeth that every believer should receive Him in his heart, and turn to Him alone. To Him should all the faithful direct their thoughts and affections, and strive to be like Him, for He (as the apostle says) is above. The spirit is dissipated by the multitude of saints, the affections are withdrawn from Christ, and weakened by being so widely extended." The numberless ceremonies with which the sacrament of baptism was encumbered

were simply censured as unprofitable and erroneous; but it appears from another place that the author agreed in theory with the doctrine of the sectaries of this period, for, in page 267, it is called a work of Antichrist, "Que el atribuis la reformation del Sanct Spirit a la fe morta de fora (the dead, external faith), et baptista li enfant en aquella fe, et enseignant esser a consegne per ley lo baptisme et la regeneration." The Lord's Supper is treated of as a symbolical sign for the edification of the congregations; the theory, like that of other contemporary sects, the inward spiritual union with Christ. "That the eating the body of Christ is here only figuratively to be understood, is plain, because, were it not so, Christ must have engaged Himself thereto for ever, for the spiritual eating is at every moment needful for us. Christ says, 'He that eateth His flesh dwelleth in Him.' The benefits attending the celebration of this sacrament are, that by prayer, by love, by exposition of the Holy Scriptures to the common edification in the vulgar tongue, and by means of other ordinances in accordance with the spirit of the Gospel, and appointed to this end, the people may grow in peace and in charity."

(17) *without respect to the canonical hindrances.* Page 274.

The principal sources for the history of Henri are, as is well known, the Acta Hildeberti Cenomanensis, in the Actis Episcoporum Cenomanensium, in Mabillon Analect. Vet. ed. nov. p. 315, et seq. Henri is styled by Bernard "an apostate monk," and "a black or Cluniac monk," lib. 7. Vit. Bernard. c. 7. He styles himself a deacon, Analect. p. 317.

"Nec curavit," it stands in the narration, "sive caste seu inceste connubium sortinentur." This I suppose to mean that he disregarded the canonical impediments, and probably deemed the ecclesiastical ceremony of marriage unnecessary. The narrator says, "None of the alliances thus contracted have been lasting; all have soon been dissolved through poverty and the ill conduct of the wives." Although we cannot attach implicit credit to the statements of this party writer, it is not improbable that the marriages contracted without a necessary circumspection, and without a due regard to circumstances, might have brought forth evil fruits. But this furtherance of marriage is in itself a proof that Henri had not derived his principles from the Paulicians.

(18) *The foundation of Henri's influence lay deeper.* Page 276.

So says Bishop Hildebert (ep. 24), in speaking of two ecclesiastics who had previously been attracted by Henri's doctrines, and whom he had convinced of their error. In answer to a certain man, who had made himself a party, by asserting, that "prayers to the saints must be unprofitable, because they could have no acquaintance with human affairs," Hildebert not inaptly says (ep. 23), "Doctrina, ibi caritatem excidere somnians, ubi caritas nunquam excidit, quia Deus est omnia in omnibus." The writer in the Acta Hildeb. et Bern. describes him as a vagabond, who gained his living by preaching. "Si quid supra victum elicere poterat a simplicioribus populi, vel ab aliqua matrona, id ludendo aleis aut certe in usus turpiores turpiter effundebat. Frequenter siquidem post diurnum populi plausum nocte insecuta cum meretricibus inventus est et interdum etiam conjugatis." But this proves nothing. Such calumnious reports would in all probability be spread of a person who, like Henri, was leading a wandering and unsettled life, careless of appearances, constantly in collision with persons of both sexes, and of all ranks, ages, and conditions, and exposed to universal obloquy as a runaway monk, and heretic. Let any one only call to mind the slanderous reports diffused among the Catholics against such men as Luther, Beza, &c. whose superior wisdom had led them to avoid all occasions of offence. For Henri's farther history, vide Analecta, pag. 323, col. i. at the bottom. Especially Vit. B. iii. Auct. Gaufrid. c. vi. ep. Gaufrid. Monach. Claravallens. § 4. et seqq. pag. 1208. b. ii. Opp. B. Vit. i. 7. cap. 17, pag. 1220. The later writers, as Alberich. in Leibnit. Accessor. Hist. give no additional information, as they for the most part merely copy their predecessors, and confound the earlier heresies with each other, and with the later. A monk, named Heribert, has left us an account of a sect in the district of Perigueux, under the teaching of a certain Pontius, whose object was to enforce the apostolical simplicity in the public worship, the community of goods, and the renunciation of all personal property; the common tendency of the generality of the sects in the middle ages. Analect. p. 483.

This Pontius can hardly, however, have been, as Mabillon supposes, a disciple and successor of Henri. The abstinence from flesh and wine, and the frequent genuflexions, point rather to a derivation from the Cathari. It is true that Bernard had continued

his journeys for the conversion of the sectaries into this district, and this Mabillon adduces in proof of his assertion; but it does not follow that those whom Bernard came to combat must of necessity have been Henricians; it is quite as probable that they were Cathari, since these sectaries had made their appearance in France in the eleventh century; and perhaps it was by their teaching that the way was prepared for that of Peter de Bruys and Henri, just as these, in their turn, prepared the way for the entrance of the later sectaries into those districts. We see here how much these men effected by their system of biblical instruction. "In hac seductione," says Heribert, "quam plures jam non solum nobiles propria relinquentes; sed et Clerici, Presbyteri, Monachi et Monachæ pervertuntur. Nullus enim tam rusticus est, si se iis conjunxerit, quia infra octo dies tam sapiens sit in literis, ut nec verbis nec exemplis amplius superari possit." That the piety of these sects subsequently degenerated into formality, is no more than we might have been led to expect, and may be inferred from their repeated bowings and such like ceremonies, just as the pietism, so fine and so pure in its origin, has often been found to degenerate in its course. The oppressed condition to which they were afterwards reduced by the vigilant zeal of their persecutors, led them to devise various means for their preservation; they thus kept up an extraordinary degree of activity, for the purpose of enabling them to elude the researches of their adversaries; of this many availed themselves to attract the people by "fraudes pias;" whence arose among the Catholics the rumour of their being addicted to magical arts. "Nullo modo detinere possunt," says Heribert, "quia, si capiuntur, nullâ vinctione possunt servari, diabolo eos liberante; faciunt quoque multa signa, nam sicubi ferreis catenis vincti, missi fuerint in tonnam vinariam, ita ut fundus sursum vertatur et custodes fortissimi adhibeantur, in crastino non inveniuntur, quoad usque iterum se voluntarie repræsentaverint." "They cannot by any means be held," says Heribert, "because if they are taken they can be kept by no bonds, the devil setting them free; they do also many miracles, for if at any time they shall have been thrown, bound with iron chains, into a wine butt, so that the cask be turned upside down, and the strongest guards be employed, on the morrow they are not found, nor until of their own accord they show themselves again."

(19) *the second founder of the Irish Church.* Page 283.

St. Patrick, the apostle of Ireland, at the same time that he introduced Christianity, sowed the seeds of general knowledge in that island (vide Act. SS. Antro. ad 17 Mart. for all that tradition has brought down to us concerning him), by making the people acquainted with written characters. He also gave them a fixed and central establishment, by founding the archbishopric of Armagh. His memory has been held in perpetual veneration. A copy of the Gospels, that he was accustomed to make use of, and a staff, said to have been delivered to him by Christ Himself (baculus Jesu), were honoured as the most precious of relics, and regarded as the inalienable insignia of the primacy of Ireland, so that whoever could produce them to the people was looked upon as archbishop of Armagh.

The successors of St. Patrick had, in consequence of the veneration in which he was held, acquired so great authority, that the whole island might be said to be governed by them, and the temporal princes, as well as the Church, were in a manner subject to them. If these men had been actuated by a zeal for the cause of the Gospel, like that of Patrick himself, much good might have resulted to the nation; but this was prevented by the same cause which disturbed the ecclesiastical relations in many states; the successful endeavours of those who held Church benefices of great emolument, to make them hereditary in their families. Thus the Irish Church was frequently governed by men totally unqualified for their high office, and thus the ecclesiastical discipline was loosened by degrees, till barbarism and unbounded licence again got the upper hand. Malachi strove, with the greatest earnestness and disinterestedness, to re-establish the Church in that country, by uniting it to the Romish hierarchy, which, in accordance with his principles, he believed it to be his duty to do. He restored the celebrated monastery of Bangor, which had formerly peopled Ireland (thence called "Insula Sanctorum") with monks, and had trained up numerous missionaries. He left to the lay abbots the valuable endowments which they had appropriated, and was satisfied with the simple possession of the convent for himself. As bishop of Connaught he perambulated the diocese on foot, in order to restore the public worship of God, and the ecclesiastical institutions. It is to be wished that Bernard had described the religious condition of Ireland more circumstantially, for it is dif-

ficult to separate Bernard's subjective view from the actual and existing state of things. All that was not in conformity with the hierarchical forms and the prevailing Church system appeared to him as heathen and barbarous. Some remnants of the freer and purer Christianity, introduced by Patrick, seem to have been in existence down to this period. Bernard could find nothing to say of those nobles who even in his time had assumed the achiepiscopal dignity of Armagh; but "Viri uxorati et absque ordinibus literati tamen." Malachi, when, on account of his eminent merit, he was appointed to the see of Armagh, found it already filled by a member of one of the noble families. Malachi, in order to prevent the effusion of blood, remained without the city, and there exercised the episcopal functions. His meekness and his venerable carriage subsequently won over his opponent, and a reconciliation was effected between them. By a constant course of indefatigable exertion during the space of three years, he restored order to the Church of Armagh, and then resigned the see to another, betaking himself to his diocese of Connaught. He afterwards acted as papal legate in Ireland, holding frequent councils, making continual visitations in the different dioceses, and having no settled residence, in order that he might be wherever his presence was most necessary. He had no episcopal revenues, but lived partly by his own handy-work and that of his people, partly by the liberality of those for whose spiritual welfare he had devoted himself. Bernard therefore compares him with many other bishops of the period. "Illi cum accipiunt decimas, et primitias, et oblationes, insuper et de Cesaris beneficio telona et tributa, solliciti sunt nihilominus, quid manducent, et quid bibant; Malachias nihil horum habens; multos tamen locupletavit de promptuario fidei." Of the prophecies concerning the popes, ascribed to Malachi, I have not been able to give any circumstantial account; for, although Bernard speaks in praise of his prophetic spirit, and his power of diving into the secrets of the heart, these are traits common in all the biographies of saints in those days. If any notorious fact of this kind had come to Bernard's knowledge, he would have esteemed it too highly to have let it pass unnoticed.

(20) *the idea of a supreme* moral, *earthly judge.* Page 289.

At an era when licence and arbitrary power so generally prevailed, and when claims of right were grounded on deeds of violence, the idea expressed by Gregory the Seventh in his re-

markable letter to Hermann, bishop of Metz, might well have suggested itself to the mind of a pope, l. viii. ep. 21:—"Ought not those dignities, which owe their origin to worldly, God-forgetting men, to be subject to that dignity which has been established by the providence of Almighty God Himself, and by Him bestowed in mercy upon the world? Is it not a notorious fact that kings are the descendants of men, who (being ignorant of God) through their pride, their rapine, their perfidy, and their murders, and who, in one word, being driven to commit all sorts of wickedness by Satan, the prince of this world, seek to lord it over their fellows, their brother-men, in a spirit of blind covetousness and intolerable arrogance?"

Almost in the same words, (so that it would appear as though the letter had been before him), Hugo Floriacens. gives his opinion, as it was maintained by an anti-political party of his times, in the tract wherein he sought to reconcile the differences between Church and state by a decision of their respective boundaries; induced probably by the contests of the state with the Church, under Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, De Regia Potestate et Sacerdotali Dignitate, ap. Baluz. Miscel. vol. iv. The portrait of such an ecclesiastical theocracy is given in the most glowing style by Geroch, whose whole soul was fired by the idea, De Corrupto Ecclesiæ Statu, ap. Baluz. vol. v. pag. 117. He describes the felicitous condition of that society in which there should subsist a perfect union between the teaching and governing wisdom of the Church, and the valorous might of the secular arm. "Those priests and bishops who should fail to instruct the people according to their duty would then be displaced, and their offices committed to others. Those princes and knights who should refuse to listen to their instructions would then be excommunicated, and better men appointed in their room. In every contest and war either one party or both parties must be in the wrong. The cause ought, therefore, to be investigated by priests appointed for the purpose, and no war should be commenced till they have given their decision; afterwards the party in whose favour this has been pronounced should be encouraged by the exhortations of the Church, and fortified by the Lord's Supper, while their opponents should be compelled by excommunication, and by the denial of Christian burial, to make restitution. But now, while the rich attack the rich, and prince makes war against prince, the sacrament is equally administered to all without inquiry."

Even this man, however, enthusiastically devoted as he was to the idea of an hierarchical theocracy, could perceive that the admixture of worldly interests in the Romish hierarchy militated against its realization. In his preface to that book he says, "Neque enim vel hoc ipsum carere macula videtur, quod nunc dicitur curia Romana, quæ antea dicebatur ecclesia Romana." ("For neither did it appear that this has been free from stain, since that which was wont to be called the Roman Church is now the Roman court.")

(21) *the division of estates.* Page 293.

Many passages might be cited from the writers of those times in proof of the pernicious influence of the trickery and bribery resulting from the right of appeal to Rome, and the abuse of it. Much of this has already been adduced, but I quote two instances now before me. When Abelard was desirous of undertaking a journey to Rome, in order to obtain satisfaction for the injuries he had sustained, the prior Fulgo a Diogillo addressed to him the following warning letter:—"Quotquot nostris temporibus sine pondere pecuniæ ad illam sedem accesserunt, perdita causa confusi et reprobati recesserunt. Si protervus extiteris et causam tuam inter eos exponere volueris, de te quidem commovebis risum; justitiam vero consequeris nullam."

The other is from Hildebert, bishop of Mans, to Pope Honorius the Second, on the abuse of appeals, ep. 41:—"Quod si forte hujusmodi novitas emerserit ut placeat indifferenter omnes admittere appellationes, pontificum censura peribit, et omnino conteretur ecclesiasticæ robur disciplinæ. Sic fiet, ut sacrilegia et rapinæ, fornicationes et adulteria pernicioso pullulabunt incremento. Accipio quod suspectos habens judices aut infestos, quod formidans vim temerariæ multitudinis, eodem remedio possit et debeat sublevari."

John of Salisbury thus speaks of the advocates of his time:—"Causidicorum siquidem est lingua damnifica, nisi eam, ut dici solet, funibus argenteis vincias." Policrat. l. v. c. 16. [The tongue of the advocates is verily a condemnatory tongue, unless, as men say, thou bind it with a silver cord].

(22) *the examples of some legates of the time.* Page 303.

Those of the legate Martin, and the venerable Godfrey, bishop of Chartres. The former returned from the nunciature of Den-

mark so poor, that on his arrival at Florence, his funds were almost exhausted, and he could not defray the farther expenses of his journey. The bishop of the place supplied him with a horse, on which he travelled as far as Pisa. The next day the bishop followed him, and solicited the horse, in order to go and secure the voices of his friends for a law-suit in which he was involved. As he came to the legate full of confidence in his past generosity, Martin said to him, " You have deceived me ; I know nought of your law-suit. Go to the stable, and take your horse away with you."

The second sustained the office of legate in Aquitaine for many years at his own cost, without ever receiving any gift or bribe.

Shortly after the completion of this work, Bernard had to complain to the pope of a legate, who was very far from imitating these examples. Let us hear his representations to the Cardinal Bishop Hugo of Ostia, Ep. 290 :—" Your legate has journeyed from nation to nation, from kingdom to kingdom, leaving everywhere traces of his iniquitous proceedings; and the apostolical man who, from the foot of the Alps and from the Germanic empire, has travelled through all the dioceses of France and Normandy, hath filled all, not with the glad tidings of the Gospel, but with scandal and blasphemy. If we are to relate his infamous doings, we shall have to tell of churches plundered, of boys advanced to ecclesiastical dignities on account of their beauty; and if he has not always been able to effect these vile purposes, he has always striven to do so. Many persons have bought off his visits; and where he has not the opportunity of extorting gold in person, he has done it through his messengers. He has made himself a laughing-stock to the people, in the schools, and in the court. To the clergy and the laity he is equally hateful. The poor, the monks, and the priests, alike complain of him. Read this letter before our lord the pope, that he may decide what is to be done to such a man. I have done my part; but I say with all earnestness that it would be well if he were *himself* to purge his court, and thereby to deliver his own conscience. Know, however, that I have said less than is openly spoken by common report." Compare John of Salisbury on the *examples* of good and bad Legates, L. v. c. 15 & 16.

(23) *discovered to the sight.* Page 305.

Justly does Bernard distinguish faith from that mere opi-

nion which we have seen him combat, in the case of Abelard; he regarded faith as an actual laying-hold, a real foretaste of a higher state of being, to which man attains by the direction of his mind, although he is incapable of comprehending it. And since we carry in us the image and seed of a better life, hidden in the depths of our inner being, and foreign to the world to which we now belong; we can, therefore, by means of this seed or principle, feel the reality of the beams of higher life sent down to us from the highest stage of being, and become conscious within ourselves of the truth of this higher stage of being, for which we are destined. Therefore saith the apostle John, not for emphasis, or in a figure, but with a deep and real import, "He that believeth on Me *hath* Eternal Life, and *is* passed from death unto life." And the Saviour has clearly pointed out the deep meaning of this expression, when He says, "The water that I shall give him shall be in him a well of water springing up into Everlasting Life."

Additional note on Arnold of Brescia.

As a further illustration, and in proof of what I have said, I adduce the opinion of the honest Geroch, who like Arnold attacked the vices of the clergy, but without impugning the authority of the Church. After having described the internal corruptions of the Church, and in consequence, inferred the near approach of Antichrist, he says, "Non ad hoc proficit, ut domus Dei taliter ordinata, Domus Dei non sit, vel præsules ejus non sint episcopi, quemadmodum quidam nostro tempore, Arnoldus nomine, dogmatizare ausus est, plebes a talium episcoporum obedientia dehortatus." From D'Argentré, t. l. fol. 27. out of Geroch. Reichersperg. l. l. de Investigat. Antichristi. (the same work of which Gretser has published a part.)

Additional notes for the History of the Western sects in the twelfth century, with reference to the Paulicians[*].

It is a circumstance of no unfrequent occurrence in the history of the Church, for sects, which seem to have been annihilated by

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[*] From a comparison of Petrus Siculus in Lat. Vers. Bibl. Patr. Lugd. t. xvi. with Photius de Manichæis in Wolf, Anecdota Græca sacra et profana, vol. i. et ii. It is only the first two books that

the heavy hand of persecution, to reappear on a sudden, under a new and brighter aspect, purified from the dross which before adhered to them (for instance, the Bohemian brethren *, and the Mennonites †). This was the case with the Manichæans and

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are of use for the history, the others are for the most part filled with polemics. My only object is to illustrate the internal history and the spirit of these sects, as connected with those of European origin: on their outward doctrines, it is not here my intention to enlarge.

* The Bohemian brethren are said to owe their origin to Militzius, a canon of Prague, who in the 13th century urged upon his countrymen the necessity of rejecting popish ceremonies and traditions, and of adhering to the Scriptures as the only rule of faith. He was followed by John Huss, and Jerome of Prague, who is said to have imbibed the same sentiments from Wicliffe. When Luther declared himself against the Church of Rome, the Bohemian brethren endeavoured to join his party; at first he showed an aversion to them, but on their sending deputies to him in 1522, with a full account of their tenets, he acknowledged them; and in 1535, on their total rejection of Anabaptism, a union was concluded between them and the Lutherans. They were afterwards joined by the Zuinglians, whose tenets they continued to follow.—Translator's note.

† A reformed sect of the Anabaptists; so called from Menno, a Dutch protestant divine, born in Friesland in 1505, died 1561. Menno adopted the doctrine of these sectaries with regard to baptism, the personal reign of Christ on earth, the exclusion of magistrates from the Christian Church, the abolition of war, the prohibition of oaths, and the vanity as well as the prejudicial tendency of all human science. He rejected, however, and expressed the utmost horror of, their licentious tenets respecting the lawfulness of polygamy and divorce, as well as their opinion that the Holy Ghost still descended in an extraordinary manner on the elect, manifesting his presence by miracles, predictions, dreams, and visions. The purity and holiness of Menno's life, united to the zeal and eloquence with which he enforced his doctrines, gave them a high degree of credit, and they spread with great rapidity among the Anabaptists; who, in consequence of Menno's persuasion, united in excluding from their communion the fanatics who

Gnostics of the East, who had spread their tenets particularly in Armenia. In the seventh century they were almost extirpated, or, at all events, only communicated their doctrine in secret: but towards the close of this century they seem to have received a fresh impulse, and we find them branching out again with greater vigour than before. In the reign of the Emperor Constantine Pogonatus, there lived a certain Manichæan, named Constantine, of whose early life we know nothing more than that he was a native of Mananalis, an Armenian city in the neighbourhood of Samosatis, and that he had received a copy of the Gospels, and of Paul's Epistles, from a deacon whom he had hospitably entertained on his return from captivity among the barbarians. These sacred documents he set himself to study with the utmost diligence; and he arose from their perusal fully convinced that the fundamental principle of the Manichæan heresy, that of the continual contest between two antagonist powers, was recognised in the Bible, and set forth in the opposition of light and darkness, spirit and flesh. A spirit of evangelical piety was generated in his mind by the perusal of the sacred writings, and the furtherance of genuine practical Christianity now appeared to him as the grand essential—the basis of all other reforms. He would no longer allow himself to be styled a disciple of Manes, and recognising Christ as his only Master, he adopted the apostolic name of Silvanus. The object and aim of all his efforts was the restoration of the primitive simplicity of the Church, and he strove eagerly to rekindle the flame of true piety in the hearts that had grown cold beneath the chilling influence of a system of human dogmas. His doctrines spread rapidly, before their heretical tendency was suspected. On his first appearance as a teacher, he had manifested no polemical hostility to the dominant Church, and had confined himself to the inculcation of the practical truths of the Gospel. He

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dishonoured it, and in renouncing all tenets detrimental to the authority of civil government. The first settlement of the Mennonites in the United Provinces, was granted them by William of Orange, about the close of the sixteenth century. In the year 1626, they published a Confession of Faith, in which they cleared themselves from the imputation of the pernicious and detestable errors laid to their charge. In a conference held at Amsterdam shortly afterwards, they entered into bonds of fraternal communion.—Translator's note.

initiated none into the mysteries of his peculiar dogmas, till their minds had been in this manner prepared for their reception; for indeed, in his view, Christian morality seemed to harmonize well enough with his dualism; thus it was that his principles were widely diffused, before their heretical tendency had been discovered. Their general attractiveness now excited the attention of the clergy, who obtained from the Emperor Justinian the Second an ordinance for the suppression of the sect. For this purpose, the Palatine Symeon was sent into the province, where assembling the principal disciples of Sylvanus, he acquainted them with the imperial edict, and commanded them to stone their teacher. Only one miserable man, Justin by name, was found willing to execute the sentence. But Symeon, a layman, and neither particularly well versed in the Church system, nor imbued with the Church prejudices, was himself attracted by their doctrines, which he had imbibed in conversation with the disciples of Sylvanus; he bewailed the death of their teacher, spared the rest of his followers, and the seeds thus scattered in his breast was left to germinate in secret. At the expiration of three years he forsook the court and relinquished his employments, in order to devote himself entirely to the truth which had taken entire possession of his heart. He travelled into Armenia, and there became the head and ruler of the still increasing sect. It appears, that under cover of Symeon's authority, and his credit as an orthodox Christian, the sectaries had, for a certain period, maintained their doctrines in secret; but the same wretched man who had lent himself to the stoning of Sylvanus, the infamous Justin, betrayed Symeon likewise, by giving information against him to the bishop of the diocese, who soon obtained an imperial edict for the total extirpation of the sect. The greater part of its members perished with their leader on the scaffold, but one of them, an Armenian named Paulus, escaped the general massacre, and continued to propagate the tenets of Sylvanus, and from him, in all probability, the term Paulicians was applied to these heretics: he had two sons, Gegnasios and Theodorus, whom he brought up in the same tenets, and at his death committed the superintendence of the sect to the elder. A difference, however, arose between the brothers; for Gegnasios (actuated by the spirit whose germ is implanted in human nature, and every where developed, even in those who, while they oppose the papal power, model a new papacy for themselves) had appropriated the supreme authority, declaring that his father had communicated to him the

grace he had himself received from above. Theodorus, on the contrary, denied this assumption, and, in accordance with the principles of the sect, replied to his brother that no intervening medium was required for the transmission of grace, and that the fountain being open to all, every man might obtain grace from on high for himself.

Under the Emperor Leo the Isaurian, well known as the first Iconoclast, Gegnasios was summoned to Constantinople as leader of the sect, to answer the charge of heresy before the patriarch. He returned into Armenia, provided with an imperial safe conduct, which served as a protection against the accusations of his adversaries. In the course of the eighth century the sect appears again to have degenerated, internal divisions occurred, wild enthusiasts arose, and these inward distractions were protracted to the end of that century; then having worked itself clear of these internal corruptions, it resumed an outward consistency, and received a fresh impulse. A young man named Sergius, meeting with a young woman belonging to the sect; she asked him whether he had read the Gospel; he replied in the negative, declaring that it was only permitted to the priests to do so. On this, the woman rejoined, "It was God's will that all men should attain to the knowledge of salvation; that this prohibition was but an artifice of the priests, who falsified the word of the Lord, and would not allow the people to participate in the mysteries of the Gospel; for those portions of it, which they did read, they perverted for the purpose of confirming their own doctrines, interpreting them without any regard to the context." She asked him "Whom Christ meant by those who should say to Him in that day, 'Lord, have we not done many wonderful works in Thy Name?' while yet the Lord declared them to be children of darkness. They are those whom ye esteem as saints, those who cast out devils and heal the sick, whom you account worthy of honour, forsaking the only living and eternal God." Struck by these words, the young man devoted himself to the study of the Bible, and from him the sect derived a fresh impetus, and was restored to its primitive scriptural purity and practical Christianity. The gentleness of Sergius's disposition, and the extreme piety of his life, not only secured to him many friends, as even his adversaries have admitted, but had the effect of softening the animosity of his opponents. During four-and-thirty years he worked with boundless zeal and unwearied activity.

Of the *peculiar* tenets of these sects, but little information has come dow n to us; in general, their principles were the same as those of all the mystics. Denying the necessity of priestly baptism, the y declared that the true baptism was communicated directly b y Christ Himself, "for He is the water of life." They said the same of the sacrament of the Eucharist, "for Christ's Body is His word and doctrine." By the *θεότοκος* * they understood the invisible Church, the holy Jerusalem, from whence Christ had descende l, and the path to which He had Himself trodden and opened t o the sons of men. If they consented to pay any outward reverenc e to the crucifix, it was with a protest that the honour was paid to Christ Himself, since the wood was but an instrument of the E vil one, and under the curse. They were, however, particularly distinguished by their reverence for Primitive Christianity, a nd were thus ever willing, like the catholics, to testify their res pect for the Book of the Gospels, at its elevation, regarding it is the Word of the Lord. They recognised the internal co ntest in man, between the good and the evil principle. "The En emy could not wholly triumph, even over the man who voluntaril y surrendered his soul to him, so as to render the benighted wretch wholly incapable of turning again to the Spirit of Truth, since the Good God, the Invisible and Inconceivable, is and wi ll be eternal."

To th eir spiritual teachers they gave the apostolic name of *ἔκδημοι* or pilgrims, to signify that they did not constitute a distinct and higher class, as among the catholics, but shared with the rest of t he people the common dignity of Christians, and for this reason t hey admitted no external mark of distinction. They compared th e Catholic priesthood to the Christ-persecuting Sanhedrim, an d reserving to themselves the appellation of the Catholic Church, designated their opponents Romans, probably intending thus to indicate the worldly constitution and character of the dominant Church, and its admixture of heathenism.

* Born of God.

THE END.

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